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LIFE AS A SOLDIER

BY

CAPTAIN THOMAS McKENZIE,

FORMERLY SERGEANT HER MAJESTY'S 64TH REGIMENT.

FIELD BUGLER TO THE GENERALS COMMANDING IN THE PERSIAN CAMPAIGN AND INDIAN MUTINY.

537402
31.3.52

ST. JOHN, N. B.
J. & A. McMillan, 98 Prince William Street,
1898.

Entered according to Act of Parliament of Canada, in the year 1898,
By Thomas McKenzie,
In the office of the Minister of Agriculture at Ottawa.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN,

GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA,

THIS VOLUME IS,

BY HIS EXCELLENCY'S PERMISSION,

WITH GREAT RESPECT,

INSCRIBED.

INTRODUCTION

Before commencing the story of my own life, I deem it necessary to say a few words respecting my father's career as a soldier.

In January, 1813, my father enlisted in Her Majesty's 93rd Highland Regiment, and was present with the Duke of Wellington at Waterloo on June 18, 1815, for which he received the medal granted for that war. On the completion of the campaign my father purchased his discharge, and returned to his native home in Perth, Scotland, where he married my mother, they having known each other from childhood.

A year afterwards my father obtained the rank of sergeant and master tailor in Her Majesty's 94th Regiment, by purchase, such being at that time the rule of the service. This position he retained until his discharge at Chatham, England, in August, 1841, receiving a pension for over twenty-three years' service. He had received the usual medal for long service and good conduct on the completion of eighteen years, the prescribed period. On his discharge he went to London, and immediately received employment from Mr. Gilbert, army clothing contractor, who was well acquainted with my father from having supplied him with all kinds of military cloth while so long master tailor in the 94th. In November following, as my father and mother, with my brother and myself, were on our way to church, we were met by General Feith, then on the staff at Horse Guards, but previously

colonel of the 94th. He told my father that the 64th Regiment had applied to Horse Guards for a master tailor, and asked him if he would accept the position. Well do I remember my father's reply. "I have had enough of soldiering already, and am doing well." The general then asked him to call at his office the next day, that they might talk over matters connected with the regiment. After our return from church my father and mother considered what General Feith had said, and on the following morning, my father, accompanied by my brother and myself, went to see the general, who again asked him to accept the master tailorship of the 64th. This time the answer was, "Yes, if you will enlist these two sons of mine; if I may draw my pension while serving, and be allowed to take my discharge by giving fifteen days' notice." This caused a laugh from all in the office, to think that my father should ask them to enlist me, then not eleven years old, and only four feet two inches in height, though nearly as broad as long, or high. The authorities were willing to enlist my brother, but not me. My father would not consent to go without me, and eventually the decision was that I was to be enlisted as a special case. We two boys were then enlisted, and passed the usual doctor's inspection, being made to jump and run, to show that we had the use of our limbs and were fit to serve Her Majesty. When we went before a magistrate to be sworn in as soldiers, I shall never forget the laugh of the magistrate when he called my name. I sprang to "attention," and gave him the military salute, which I then knew as well as I do to-day. This I had learnt, as well as the duty of obedience, in the regimental school of the 94th.

I may here mention that in 1840, when Her Majesty Queen

Victoria (God bless her) passed through Chatham after her marriage, the whole of our regiment, the 94th, assembled to congratulate her and form an escort for her on her return home. I often had the pleasure of seeing her in London during my three months of civil life there. Those who have never been in London, or at Horse Guards, miss a splendid sight in the two sentries mounted on their black horses, one in each archway of the main gate. During their two hours on duty neither man nor horse moves. They look more like statues than living beings. I used to visit them daily, as well as many other sights of interest in London.

My father, mother, and family left London one week after my enlistment to join the four-company depot of the 64th, then stationed at Templemore, Ireland, and arrived on the 29th November, 1841, my brother and I to begin our career as soldiers.

In 1842 the depot was moved to Nenagh, Ireland, and to Tralee in 1843. Early in that year a draft was inspected by the doctor to join the head-quarters of the regiment at Halifax. My father, brother and myself were included in the draft. It was a great disappointment to my father when, in August, word came that the regiment was ordered home to England, for he was very desirous to get to America. The regiment arrived at Portsmouth in October, 1843, where the depot met them. Shortly afterwards the whole regiment went to Weeden. They had not been there more than a month when an epidemic of sore eyes broke out among the men, on which two companies were sent to Northampton, and the other eight companies to different places on detachment. It was here my father gave notice to leave the regiment, in 1844, for the following reason: The quartermaster of the regiment

objected to my father getting all his military cloth from Mr. Gilbert, as he used to do when in the 94th, receiving the profit himself, if there was any. Accordingly my father, mother, and the remainder of the family left again for London, leaving us two brothers to fight through life for ourselves.

In the year 1845 my father and family came out to Kingston, Ontario, in a sailing vessel commanded by his brother, where he died a few years afterwards. My mother survived him. At present my two eldest sisters and three younger brothers live in Ontario; the eldest brother is now colonel commanding the Gananoque Field Battery, his son being captain in the same battery.

PREFACE.

At the suggestion and solicitation of friends on whose judgment I rely, I have ventured to compile the following short account of my life as a soldier in Her Majesty's service. This has not been done because I think that there is any particular credit to be attached to anything which has been accomplished in the various capacities in which I have been engaged, either in the east or west. They have simply been a part of my duty, and any man should be satisfied if he feels that he has honestly tried to do his best. But having occupied a peculiar position as staff bugler, requiring my presence close beside the general officer commanding, in two campaigns, under such distinguished men as Sir James Outram and Sir Henry Havelock, it has been thought that I might relate the course of events in an unpretentious manner, and as an observer of some things which ordinarily escape notice. The nature of my work in Canada has been essentially constructive. The militia force of the Dominion has been a thing of comparatively slow growth. Experience has had to be bought. Facilities have been small. Perfection has by no means yet been reached. But it has been my privilege in the positions held by me to do something towards the building up, in one section of this great country, of a system of domestic military service, which I believe has now a good foundation, and will be found more and more effective as time goes on.

There are in my humble judgment two things which force themselves on the unbiassed observer of men and things.

First, that public opinion is not yet sufficiently educated to the absolute necessity, not merely the desirability, of having a properly equipped and well disciplined military force, both as the ultimate resort in case of civil disturbance, and as a national defence in case of attack from without. The militia is worse than useless if not effective. And that it shall be effective should be the resolve of every patriotic citizen.

The other thing is, that the militia, being national in the purest sense, should be entirely removed from the sphere and influence of party politics. No appointment or promotion should be affected by the exigencies of political provision; but as is the case in the mother country, reasonable seniority, with merit, should be the only avenue to advancement.

It will be seen that I have attempted no fine writing, but that the narrative is a simple statement of what has been my personal experience. As such I commit it to the kind consideration of a generous public.

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CHAPTER I.

First Years of Service.

I FIND from the baptismal certificate now in my possession, given me by my mother in 1868, that I was born at Gibraltar on the 3rd of December, 1830. This certificate contains the signature of both the chaplain and the adjutant of the 94th Regiment. Three years after my birth, the regiment left Malta for England, and, as usual, was moved about from place to place in Scotland and Ireland. I have a vivid recollection of the time at which the regiment was stationed at Cork, in 1838. The great storm of that year, throughout Ireland, blew the slates off the houses in the city, as well as the barrack buildings, and small houses were completely blown down.

I may here mention that the only road from the barracks to the city was by the Old Woman's Hill, so called, which is very steep, so much so that there were steps at the side, with a landing about every eight or ten steps, to enable people to walk up or down the hill.

The new road, or the way through the race course to the city from the barracks, was not opened until some years afterwards. The regiment left Cork and went to Chatham, in England, in 1839, and, as I said in a previous page, Her Majesty visited there in 1840, just after her marriage. The school children of the regiment, of whom I was one, had to parade under charge of the school master

to pay due and proper respect to her, which we did in a regular military manner, by giving her the military salute, and by singing "God Save the Queen." I well remember still how the carriage was stopped so that she could look at us, which she did with a pleasant smile on her face, which was much appreciated by all present, and was often talked of at our school.

I now commence the narrative of my many years of service to Her Majesty, confining myself almost entirely to facts. The dress of the troops during my first three years of service was as follows: Our head-dress was the old black cap, small at the head, enlarging to sixteen inches at the crown, with a curb chain and ball, as may now be seen in old plates in books. The coatee (not tunic) had long tails, with lead at the bottom to keep them down. They were braided with worsted across the breast, wide at the shoulders to narrow at the waist, and with wings for epaulettes. The trousers were white duck; the accoutrements being cross-belts and sixty-round pouches. The musket was the old "Brown Bess," with flint lock. In those days a soldier had all he could do to get himself ready for duty. It was in 1844 that the first Prince Albert shako, with two peaks, was issued. Those of the year following had only one peak. The old Brown Bess was ordered into store, and new muskets issued with percussion locks. In 1845 the white trousers were discontinued, and shortly afterwards the cross-belts were dispensed with, when we soldiers had not nearly so much trouble in cleaning our accoutrements or pipe-claying our trousers for parade or other duty.

In November, 1841, I joined the 64th, four company, the depot being at Templemore, Ireland, and immediately began to acquire a soldier's duty, as well as to learn how to play the flute, beat the drum, and blow the bugle; and by the time the regiment arrived home from Halifax, in October, 1843, I was considered to be perfect and able to take my place in the fife and drum band of the regiment. Nothing unusual occurred until we arrived in Weeden, when nearly the whole regiment took sore eyes. This was caused by a disease brought there by the men from Portsmouth, which polluted the canal running through the barrack grounds, in which the men washed. This practice was stopped, but not before the mischief was done. The regiment was for this reason removed to different places, with two companies as head-quarters at Northampton. I have seen as many as four hundred of the regiment in hospital with sore eyes at one time; but early in 1845 the disease had been conquered, and the regiment was ordered back to the upper barracks in Weeden, and in September of the same year was removed to Dublin.

It was in 1844 that I received my first promotion, that of the rank of full drummer, with extra pay of 1¾d. per day, and also of field bugler to the regiment. The duty of a full drummer is to give corporal punishment when a soldier is sentenced to such punishment by court martial. In those days I have seen many men receiving from one hundred to five hundred lashes before breakfast of a morning, when all the troops in town or garrison would have to parade to witness it. It is a blessing that at present (1898)

this unmerciful punishment is abolished in Her Majesty's service, except it be for some very indecent act, and then not to exceed fifty lashes. It is proved that discipline can be carried out without such severity, although it took many years before it was seen to be so by the framers of military law.

The only thing of any importance occurring during my period of duty in Dublin and other parts of Ireland, from 1846 to 1848, was the failure of the potatoes, and other crops, in 1846, which caused great distress throughout Ireland. Our regiment was moved about to stop any uprising or disturbance. But everything appeared quiet until we reached Clonmel, in 1848. Here Smith O'Brien, Mitchell, Meagher, McManus, and others, with a large body of followers, went about the country at night to plunder and burn up the houses of the gentry, which caused a number of both cavalry and infantry to be sent out nightly to prevent damage being done, and to bring in such prisoners as were disobeying the law in this respect. A magistrate accompanied each party of troops. This was continued every night for more than two months, until the ringleaders above mentioned were apprehended. Many casualties occurred on both sides, fire-arms being freely used. Some died of the wounds received, among them two of our regiment. The men whose names are given above were brought under escort, composed of twenty cavalrymen and a company of the 64th, to the gaol in Cashel. I was one of the escort. They were tried by civil court, and sentenced to be transported, and were, I

believe, sent to some part of America. After this the disturbances ceased.

It was in 1847 that the ten-year limit act was passed. Previously to this, the term of service in H. M. forces was unlimited, but one could be discharged with pension after twenty-one years' service. At the end of 1848 the regiment was ordered to Cork to embark for India. It was here that Colonel Stopford joined our regiment by exchange with Colonel Stratton. Colonel Wilson was also posted to the 64th a few days after the exchange was made, as two colonels were allowed to a regiment under orders for India to join the forces at war with the Sikhs.

The Colonel Stopford mentioned, before his exchange, commanded the 43rd Regiment Light Infantry, and had already received medals for engagements in India. He was the first man shot in Persia, to which I will again refer in describing that campaign.

CHAPTER II.

Life in India.

THE regiment embarked in the troopship "Java," a very large vessel, which formerly was a man-of-war, but now had no guns on board. It had three decks, and furnished plenty of room for the regiment. Our voyage lasted three months and was an eventful one. We lay for three days and nights while rounding the Cape, about in line with Table Bay, in a calm. The men were bathing in the sea, when sharks were seen, which caused us to make for the boats; but not before two of our men were caught by two sharks. That was on a Saturday afternoon. The next day, Sunday, we still lay in the calm. The men after church service and dinner were fishing, and every sail the ship had was set. About 5 p. m. a very heavy squall came on with rain and wind, which gave very little time to get the sails in or furled. The storm continued for four continuous days and nights, and drove the old ship back so much that it took somewhat over eight days to get back to the same place, opposite Table Bay. Many storms we had, but this was the worst, and some thought the old ship would never reach Bombay. But, as Sir Henry Havelock often said, "God was with us."

On arriving in Bombay we found that the war with the Sikhs had been ended while we were *en route*. Accordingly the regiment was ordered to quarters in Poonah.

Shortly after our arrival I joined the band, and continued as the field bugler when required. In 1851 I was appointed drill-corporal, with seven and one-half rupees per month extra pay, which caused me to leave the band. In 1854 I became drill-sergeant with fifteen rupees extra pay per month. All this time I performed the duties of field bugler, of which I may here give a partial account. First, to attend with the commanding officer, and sound calls as required. In those days a regiment on parade could perform nearly all the movements by bugle call; and as our Colonel (Stopford) had been formerly in a light infantry corps (43rd) he kept the men moving by bugle sound as much as possible. Another part of the duty was to attend once a week at the officers' lectures on drill, discipline, etc. At such meetings the colonel and all officers must be present, and each officer had to understand all bugle calls. The sergeants of the regiment had also a day to meet for the same purpose, the adjutant being present. By attending these meetings I learned all that could be acquired about drill, etc., and was often told so. Not infrequently I had to part with my knowledge during brigade parades, and afterwards in front of the enemy, when aides-de-camp were at other work, or delivering orders from the commander. I being on the staff as bugler was often made use of as an aide-de-camp.

For the information of those who have never been in India, I will briefly describe the climate, and how the soldiers passed their time in it. If a person is young when he enters the country, and becomes acclimatized, he

has nothing to fear, for if in good health he remains so, so long as he keeps up the exercise available for the troops. During about three months of the year he can go shooting, or any other such sport, at a very cheap rate. By procuring a pass (authority) from his commanding officer, he can get a horse fully equipped, with a bag of oats from the native keeping the stable in the regimental bazaar, for the low sum of four annas (sixpence sterling) per day. The pass must be left with the owner of the horse, and any damage done to the horse or fit out paid for. The men use this privilege very often; in fact, daily during this period races are held by the soldiers near their barracks. Consequently soon after a regiment arrives in India, every man in the corps, if he feels so inclined, can ride. A camel can be used in this way, but costs twice as much, and is not so easy to ride. Men are sore afterward, still they get used to it, and nothing else is used when the men, women and children have picnics. There are many other outside games, such as hand-ball, throwing bullets (a lead or iron ball, from three to six pounds weight each). A number of throws, say six, eight or ten, are made into the country, and, coming back to the starting point, the parties changing bullets, the last throw out. The winner is he who gains the most ground, always starting from the place where the bullets stop. Both of these games are practised very much in India, and keep the men in the best of health. I have seen miles of men at the latter game at once.

The diseases among the troops in India are fever, liver complaint, palpitation of the heart, and, in swampy or wet

ground, sometimes cholera, also fever and ague. This latter complaint requires all the heat a man can bear. Hot baths are the first remedy used. I have seen men very weak for over a month from the effect of the latter disease. But once the patient begins to recover, he is in far better health and stronger than before his illness.

All parades are either early in the morning or by moonlight, such as brigading for sham fights, in garrisons containing the three arms of the service — cavalry, artillery, and infantry, I have fallen in for such parades at 2 a. m., and not been dismissed until one or two hours after sunrise, 6 or 8 a. m. The men like this sort of work, as it prepares them for war. Talking of war, I may here say that I learned how to apply a bandage, etc., in case of an artery or flesh wound, and during the Persian campaign and the Indian mutiny often had to do so.

The barrack rooms are comfortable, for they use a punkah in each room, worked by natives, which keeps up a cool breeze. Each room has a mat made of cocoanut fibre, about an inch in thickness, in the place of a window, upon which the natives are constantly throwing water. For this they receive extra pay. The water for drinking is generally cool: it is kept in *chattas* three deep. The top one contains a little gravel or fine sand, with several small holes in the bottom of it. The middle *chatta* has smaller holes and finer gravel. The water drops from one to the other, and it is very clear and cool in the lower one, from which we drink. The *chattas* are always kept full. The surplus water running over the lowest one escapes through a drain.

There are one or two covered verandahs round each barracks, the rooms having no ceilings, but are long and broad, each containing room for a company of one hundred men. They are kept clean at all times by the natives. It can be seen, then, that, although the country is hot, a soldier can retain his good health with care. I can say for myself that, during more than twelve years of service in that country, I had the best of health. I kept myself as much as possible to the front in all games—cricket, foot-ball, running, horse-racing, etc.—and many others did the same.

The weather is varied by the monsoons, which are heavy rains by showers. I have run from my barrack room to one side of the barrack square to meet the rain as a shower bath, and while the rain was passing over met it again on the other side. This used to be sport for us, and was much enjoyed by all. But should the hot winds come, we get under cover at once, for they are very severe, and more like fire running through you than a wind.

The accommodation for a soldier in India is satisfactory, and he is well looked after by the authorities. For instance, the canteens now have connected with them reading and coffee rooms, which were established by Sir Frederic Roberts, which does away, in great measure, with the drinking of liquor. In my time, coffee rooms were not thought of; but the men could only get into the canteen after 12 noon for one pint of ale or porter, and no more until 7 p. m., when a dram of either arrack or rum would be allowed them. After 8 p. m. they could again

get one pint of ale or porter. A number of the men, myself included, preferred attending the temperance club formed in our regiment. No native was allowed to sell liquor of any kind to a soldier, which is, and was, the best order ever issued by the authorities in India.

As well as the diseases the men are subject to in India, I have seen a large number die in a very short time with sunstroke. The first one was Captain Fownes, of our light infantry company, who was a very smart and natty soldier, as the regiment thought. His death occurred in Poonah, on the first Sunday after our arrival, while on our way to church. The doctor said the cause was want of sufficient covering for his head. He had only a small cap cover, and a still smaller turban over his forage cap, which was very light. In less than two minutes after he fell he was dead; but when the native doctor, attached to each regiment in India, saw him, he stated that if one of the men had bled him in the neck with a penknife his life would probably have been saved. I have seen many lives saved during my residence in India in this way. To prevent sunstroke, when soldiers first go to India, they have issued to them a very light forage cap made of bamboo cane, with a large peak in front reaching from temple to temple. This is covered with a cotton cover well quilted, and around the temples and neck with a cotton turban, the men usually buying silk ones afterwards.

When the cholera attacks a regiment or a garrison in India a number of men die by it before a change of weather comes on, or the regiment can be moved to another

station. I have been present at the burial of over a hundred men, women and children at once, who had died of this disease. On the other hand, the native doctors, as well as the regimental doctors, succeed in stopping the disease after only a few deaths occur. A few men also die with fever and ague, should the black vomit accompany it.

CHAPTER III.

The War with Persia.

IN 1856 the British government had proclaimed war with Persia, which had refused to evacuate Herat. At that time I was present with our regiment, the 64th, which was then stationed at Kurrachee, Bombay presidency. While there we received orders to proceed to Persia.

After we arrived at Bombay we embarked in a man-of-war steamer for Bushire, a fortified city on the Persian gulf, where we were joined by other troops, who had come in steamers and sailing vessels. On the assembling of the whole force, a council of war was held on board of the steamer on which the commanding officer, Major-General Stalker, was, for the purpose of deciding on the mode of attack, and appointing the staff for the force. At this meeting Colonel James Stopford, of the 64th, was appointed brigadier, and I as staff bugler to the general. In accordance with the general orders then published, the troops were to land early the next morning, while the navy were firing on the city or fort of Bushire and the mud fort of Reshire. The men-of-war were between both places, about two miles from each. The troops disembarked in small boats and landed seven miles from the mud or Dutch fort, which is about four miles from Bushire. We immediately formed and advanced on it and captured it. This fort had a ditch which fills with water when the tide is in,

but when we attacked it the tide was out and the ditch dry. After we got into the ditch we had to ascend a steep bank to reach the top of the fort. It was here that Brigadier Stopford (uncle of Colonel Maunsell *) fell into my arms, shot through the heart by one of the enemy, who was not twenty yards from us. I can never forget his words, "O my God, McKenzie, I'm shot." He handed me his sword, which is now in possession of his son, George Stopford, Esq., lately of Fredericton. I immediately took from my haversack a bandage, etc., took his jacket off, and was applying the bandage when a doctor arrived and pronounced him about dead, as the ball had gone through his heart. During this time, and after the colonel's fall, the enemy's musket balls came very thick around me, but, thanks to God, I was not hit by any of them. This was the first narrow escape I had, but had many others before the campaign and the Indian mutiny was over, which I will describe as they occurred, asking my readers to bear in mind that it is only a brief account of my life which I am writing, and of facts of which I was an eye-witness during both campaigns, not a history of Persia or India.

* The Colonel Maunsell above mentioned is the present commander of militia in New Brunswick, a position he has held since his appointment as A. G. in 1865. The Mr. Stopford alluded to was born in Kurrachee, previous to his father leaving there in command of the 64th for Persia. He married the daughter of Mr. Milner, of Fredericton, and is now residing at Tidnish, N. S. He has in his possession a detailed account of his father's death, which was published at the time or soon afterwards in the London *Times*.

Colonel Stopford was the only man of the attacking force dressed in red, he wearing his shell-jacket. The rest of us wore kaka-colored coats, nearly the color of the ground. Colonel Stopford had asked General Stalker if he would allow me to accompany him to sound the bugle calls for the attacking party, which was our regiment, saying at the time the men act better, and I could deliver orders if required. The general allowed the request, for I was his bugler, and it was late in the evening before I returned to him.

I mentioned in a previous chapter that I learned how to apply a bandage in case of men being wounded in action. I will here explain how, which may be of use to others. In the event of an artery wound, place a piece of cork or the like, a cent will do, immediately on the main artery, with a portion of the bandage under the cork, which must be pressed on the artery, and bandage as tight as possible. Then the blood will stop flowing. Any place on the inside of the arm or leg is an artery wound, which may be seen by the color of the blood, and how it runs or flows. With a flesh wound, or vein, the bandage is placed on the wounded part with no cork, but bandaged tight. Care must be taken in artery wounds that you bandage the main artery between the wound and the heart. Supposing the wound to be on the inside of the leg, any part of it, place the bandage on the artery in the groin, which can easily be found by the pulsation there, the same as in your wrist. The like rule applies to the arm; but the main artery can be found on the inside of the arm near the shoulder. If

the wound is at the foot, the main artery can be found above it, near the ankle, on the inside of the leg. If the wound is on the head bandage the temples. If on the breast or back, bandage around the body. A bandage may be from two and one-half to four inches wide, and from ten to twenty yards long. A common cork can be cut about one-quarter inch thick, and one inch or less in width, and is about the best thing to use.

During our advance upon the fort I made so bold as to remark to the brigadier, Colonel Stopford, that he had made himself conspicuous in front of the enemy by wearing red; and that as brigadier it was not necessary for him to be with the fighting line, or skirmishers. His reply to me was, "It is the first engagement the regiment is in, and I will lead them." During our advance the enemy's bullets from their very long muskets were flying around us, but little damage was done until the colonel was shot, with several others. The enemy paid very dearly for it, for many of them were either shot or killed with the bayonet. The rifle pits in this fort were so constructed that the enemy could fire from them, and run from one to the other without our seeing them. The British charge, however, soon found them. The portion of them, some thousands, that were not either killed or drowned in the Persian gulf, got off to Bushire by the bank of the gulf, unknown to us, to attack us afterwards. Had the tide been in at the time they could not have done so.

The force camped just below the fort, on a plain, for the night, and early the next morning advanced on Bushire.

The ships had inflicted considerable damage during the night, and when we got within attacking distance, our artillery with skirmishers attacked the city at a point which the shipping did not command. We soon had a large breach made in the walls, and a storming party was advancing, when six horsemen came out with a flag of truce and gave themselves up, the Shah among the number. In spite of this a body of about twenty other cavalry came rushing round the staff, cutting and slashing at all they met. Major Taylor of the staff here went at one of them, and cut him nearly in two with a blow of his sword, which was very heavy and sharp. I shot another of them with a revolver, of which weapon I carried two.

After matters were settled General Stalker handed to me the sword of the Shah, which was a very handsome one. Both the handle of the sword and the scabbard were very richly ornamented with costly stones. I must say I looked well and felt proud with a king's sword by my side. After some ten days I had to hand it in for return to the Shah, but was allowed to keep the black horse, one of thousands, taken from the enemy.

The city of Bushire is a regular fort, with a strong wall around it, which is mounted with heavy guns. Had it not been for the navy the remainder of the force would have had a hard time taking it, so the commander stated. But it was sure to be taken when the British attacked it. There was one thing we all thought at the time, and I am still of the same opinion, that it was wrong to allow the enemy to leave and go where they pleased. For at that

time a large force was collecting at Barazjan, near the mountains or passes to Teheran, where reinforcements from Teheran joined them daily. Our force took a large number of fancy weapons, such as swords, daggers and pistols, from the enemy on their way out by the gate. Thousands of them, however, escaped by the bank of the gulf, whom we could not see. That was before a party of our force was ordered into the city, or fort, to take charge of it, with orders to hold or take possession of all arms, etc., as well as to hold the Shah and his staff as prisoners. The next day the whole force was marched all through the city; and I saw many beautiful articles which were seized, especially about the king's palace, which was the head-quarters of the general and his staff for the time being. Our regiment was ordered to remain to guard the city, while the balance of the force was encamped on the common in front of the city. Our force was not large, therefore we had to wait for the reinforcements ordered to join under Generals Outram and Havelock, neither of them being in Persia at the time.

While waiting, a mud fort was erected by the force outside the city, with a commanding view of the enemy's position towards the mountain passes or road to Teheran. After the first few days we were much annoyed by the enemy's firing round shot as well as by their very long muskets, which carried a ball for over a mile. Often we had to attack them. On two occasions we went after them with two days' cooked rations in our haversacks, and each time a number of them were killed and many

prisoners taken. Major-General Stalker was senior officer to Major-General Outram at the commencement of this campaign. But Outram was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general and to command the force in Persia. Rumor said this gave dissatisfaction among the staff. The force, however, considered it a good change, for the lieutenant-general was found to be the soldiers' friend, and he always had a good thought for them, and we were very glad when he arrived and took command, which was near the end of January, 1857.

In a few days afterwards the first reinforcements arrived, the 78th among them. The enemy were causing a great deal of trouble. Lieutenant-General Outram now considered it necessary to break up the enemy's plans and attack them. The following strength of the force was ordered out for this purpose, with himself as commander. Strength all ranks of attacking force: Cavalry, 419; Artillery, 18 guns and about 220 men; Sappers, 118; Infantry, Europeans, 2,212; natives of India, 1,466; total, 4,435, with 12 staff. The remainder were left under Lieutenant-Colonel Shepherd in the entrenchments and city. Strength all ranks about 1,600 men, including Europeans and native infantry, with 14 guns, besides the guns mounted on the mud fort or entrenchment, which was now placed under the charge of a number of sailors from the men-of-war steamers.

When the force was returning to Bushire from Kooshab, the sailors opened fire on us with their guns from the fort. We were taking a different route in returning from the

one we had gone by, and they supposed we were the enemy, who had made attacks on them each night during our absence from Bushire. Sir James said to me, "McKenzie, this must be stopped." Sir James and myself then rode at a very fast rate to the gate of the fort, and had some trouble in getting them to stop firing. Of course I had sounded the "cease fire" several times, but the sailors did not understand that call. I imagine they felt badly when they found out their mistake, by which, however, as good fortune would have it, no harm was done. The best of troops are liable to make such a mistake, and it is more to the sailors' credit than otherwise, for it shows that they were on the alert and watchful, as any other British subject should be in front of his enemy. Sir James Outram did not in any way blame them, but said to me he was glad to find the sailors at their post.

The 64th Regiment was with Outram's force, and my name was again in orders as the lieutenant-general's bugler. We had no camp equipage, only our great-coats rolled with one blanket inside, with two days' cooked rations in our haversacks, the commissariat department having three days' rations extra.

We met the enemy a few miles from Bushire, but they would not show fight after the advance guard, who were in skirmishing order with the usual number of cavalry, fired a few shots at them. Of course Sir James, with his force, was determined to give them a lesson; and therefore followed them up, in all forty-six miles, when we came to their large entrenchment at Barazjan, which was

below the mountain passes on the road to Teheran. We had a light skirmish here, but the enemy made off to the pass, expecting us to follow. But as the force was not sufficiently equipped or strong enough in number to attack or follow an enemy over three times their strength through mountain passes, Sir James thought it best not to be caught in such a way by any enemy. So he told me. During the most of this time, two days and nights, it rained and was cold. The enemy, being in a hurry to get off, left their tents, etc., behind them, also a large quantity of powder and parts of large guns. Perhaps they expected to get them again after they had made away with us in the passes. Sir James ordered a pit to be dug, and all the enemy's things put into it, which was done by our sappers. While this work was going on he was talking to me. Suddenly he called the chief of his staff, Sir Edward Lugard, and in a loud tone of voice said that he would attack the enemy in the passes during the night, saying also, "McKenzie here will sound the assemble at 8 o'clock sharp, and I expect every man to be fit and ready to march."

This saying travelled to the enemy long before the time named, and of course they were waiting for us. But they did not catch us. At 8 o'clock I did sound the assemble. Sir James said: "Follow me, advance guard." (He always went with some of the advance guard.) But instead of making for the mountains we headed for Bushire. Our rations were about done, excepting the grog, although up to that time we had been allowed three extra drams. After we had marched four or five miles, Sir James said

to me: "Sound the halt!" when all the force was turned about to see the explosion of the articles put into the pit, which were set fire to by a train carried along by the sappers in the rear guard. I must say this was the best fireworks, shell bursting in the air, etc., that I ever saw. We could also see the enemy waiting for us in the mountains. Sir James again ordered me to sound the advance. When we got about half a mile or so from our resting-place, or about midnight, the enemy attacked us in the rear.

On Sir James hearing the shots, he went about very quickly, I following. It was so dark we could not see our way. Sir James's horse fell in a hole, the horse rolling over him. I immediately dismounted, and got him clear of the horse, and placed him in a *doolah*. He just had time to say: "McKenzie, tell Sir Edward to take command," and then became unconscious. I remained with him until he recovered. The whole time I was bathing his head with cold water. On regaining consciousness, his first words were: "McKenzie, how are the force?" I told him. He remarked that it was the noise of the artillery that started him. I had his as well as my own horse near at hand. We mounted, when he again took command. He, as usual, went to the front, and, of course, I had to be with him. Three companies of the 64th Regiment were skirmishing, and he made for them. Here I dismounted, for my company was part of the line, and took a musket from one of our regiment, who lay dead on the field, to have a shot or two at the enemy. After the second

shot I was in the act of loading, as a rear rank man, when I tumbled nearly over. The captain (V. Ryan) of my own company in the regiment, as well as Sir James, asked me what was the matter. I could not tell them. But when I rose to advance, I found the heel of my right boot was knocked completely off by a musket ball of the enemy. Then both the general and captain saw the cause of the fall.

We lost several at this battle, but the enemy's loss was very heavy, the report of their killed stating over seven hundred. They had a large number of cavalry, who charged our squares during the night, and, by the large number of horses running about next morning, many of their killed or wounded must have been cavalry men. During the night our loss was not heavy, but Lieutenant Greentree, of our regiment, was so severely wounded by a cannon-ball that he died shortly afterwards, as well as others of the regiment. Still, some of them recovered from their flesh wounds.

The 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry charged and broke a four-deep square. I must say they went at the enemy as well as any European cavalry could do, but lost their commander. Nearly one-half of the enemy was cut up before they got to the mountains. The enemy again thought we would now follow them. But, as I said above, neither Sir James nor the force was prepared to do so.

The name of this place was called Kooshab, about five miles from Barazjan. After this battle we remained at Kooshab until about 5 p. m. Here again Sir James set

the report rolling that he would attack the enemy in the evening. But, as before, after I sounded the assemble we made for Bushire. About fifteen miles from the city we came to a large mud fort, but no enemy could be seen. On account of the heavy rains, and our taking a different route, we came to very swampy and wet ground, and in some places the water was over two feet deep. Sir James allowed each man a pair of boots for this march.

At the fort now referred to, the cavalry and artillery, with a portion of infantry, remained until the next morning, when the whole force marched again on to Bushire, after having given the enemy the lesson that Sir James said he would give them.

I remember reading in a journal after the campaign was over, that during the night attack at Kooshab, under command of Lieutenant-General Outram, the Persian bugler sounded "cease fire." I did so, as I well remember, by order of Sir Edward Lugard, for the force might do more harm than good. No fighting position could be formed, except to resist cavalry by forming square. Although born in Gibraltar, I did not know that I was a Persian bugler. But I suppose the writer of that article never saw Persia.

In the life of Sir James Outram, by Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmith, the fall of Sir James's horse is mentioned. The following extract is also from the same volume: "'His thought of and care for his soldiers,' says one of his staff, 'was such as is not often felt by generals for their men.' He had during the Persian campaign an

orderly bugler, McKenzie, of the 64th. On the line of march I have seen him look down and say, 'McKenzie, you are not smoking.' 'No, sir,' would be the reply, 'I have no tobacco.' The general's cheroot case was at once at the bugler's disposal, and he would stop his horse, and from his own cheroot give a light to McKenzie." Often the like of this occurred, as well as something to keep the cold out, during our return to Bushire.

Talking about smoking, during the night attack at Kooshab, above referred to, an order was issued that the men were not to smoke or light pipes or cheroots, for if they did so the lights would be a target for the enemy to fire at. It was a very dark night, and the port fires used by the artillery had to be hid when not in use. This was a hardship to the soldiers, to have to do without smoking for about six hours.

I may also here mention the scheme used by Sir James Outram, viz., to spread the report so that it would come to the ears of the enemy that he would attack them, when he had no thought of doing so. I have been present when he and his chief, Sir Edward Lugard, talked such things over, but of course was dumb at all times on such matters. His policy was to induce the enemy to prepare and get into position for defence, so as to give him time to take an opposite course. Again, he was determined to go by the other route to Teheran, via Mahomerah, and not through the mountain passes, for I have heard him say "Such roads should not be used if any other way is available, especially if they contain an enemy."

During our six days' absence from Bushire, General Stalker had not been idle. He continued the building of the huts which were commenced some time before for the Europeans, into which Sir James was very anxious to get his men. The fort, or entrenchment, on the plain in front of the city was made more comfortable for the troops. But Sir James was anxiously waiting for the reinforcements, which he expected would have arrived before we went to Barazjan. Having given orders for a party to be sent up the river Karoon to find out the position of the enemy, etc., the report of that party was, that there were forts along the river as well as infantry, and that their position appeared to be a strong one. They also reported that the island in front of their batteries was nothing but mud, and that no battery could be erected there. Consequently Sir James ordered rafts to be prepared for heavy mortar guns which could be brought to the island for action, while the man-of-war steamers were attacking the enemy's position, with the attacking force on board ready to land.

The second reinforcement having arrived with Major-General Havelock on board, Sir James formed the attacking party and divided the reinforcements, some of them to be left in Bushire, the balance to join the attacking force. General Jacob was left in charge of Bushire, on account of the death of Major-General Stalker, the cause of whose death I omit. Everything now being ready, the force moved for the two attacks. The first one was by the heavy guns on board of the large steamers and the mortar

battery; the second by six smaller steamers, with guns, on which were the troops, numbering a little over four thousand.

During our sail up the river to Mahomerah, some very heavy explosions were heard, which was found afterwards to be the enemy's magazines. We also learned that there had been several killed. The ships had all their engagement to themselves. But although the mortar raft with artillerymen on it had no shelter from the fire of the enemy's guns and muskets, only a couple of men on it were slightly wounded during the sail. When we landed a few miles above Mahomerah, we marched to attack the enemy, but found that they had vacated their camp ground, which was well fortified, leaving all their tents, etc. A party of cavalry was sent after them, but not having a sufficient number of men they could not follow them far. They reported on their return that they saw a large number of arms, etc., which had been thrown away by the enemy. A party was also sent to the enemy's forts, but found no force there. However, they buried about two hundred of the enemy's dead, and brought in eighteen guns.

Sir James, as usual, wanted to be on the leading ship, or front of the attacking force. But as his staff considered it better for him to be less exposed, a scheme was concocted by them, to ask him whether he wished to keep all the honor to himself, or to share it with the commodore and Indian navy. This appealed to his generosity and altered his plans, and his reply to his friend was: "Well,

Sir Edward, I will go in the middle steamer;" which was the "Scindian." I was present when the above conversation was going on. While this steamer moved up the river she had the union jack flying, which made her a marked object for the enemy to fire at with the guns they had, as well as with muskets. I was standing talking to the servant of Captain Havelock (now Sir H. M. Havelock Allan, Bt.), on this steamer, when a round shot struck him, and I might say completely smashed him. A few seconds after, the enemy's fire of musketry became very heavy. Our regiment (or seven companies of them, the other three companies having been left at Bushire), was on board this steamer, for Sir James was sure to have our corps near him, while General Havelock would have the 78th. As I said above, the enemy's musket balls came pretty thick by times. Once, on an explosion of one of the enemy's magazines, the men put their heads up and looked over the bulwarks. Sir James put away his glass with which he was surveying the enemy, and had hardly said "Down, men of the 64th," when a shower of balls from the shore rattled over the deck, happily missing him. A brother officer was smoking a hookah* beside him. A ball had struck the hookah, demolishing it. Sir James remarked to his friend, "A musket ball has put your pipe out," never thinking of his own foot, which was close beside the hookah.

* A hookah is an Indian pipe, having a large bowl, which sets on the ground, with tubes from it, so that more than one person can smoke out of it at the same time.

The force remained at Mahomerah, as Sir James expected more reinforcements before he could proceed further on to Teheran. Matters appeared to be quiet at Bushire, therefore we had a rest, which was much appreciated by all, and the natives here, mostly Arabs, were very friendly with us. On Sunday afterwards, the force were at church service on the camp ground, General Havelock reading the service, when Sir James came up and told him that the war with Persia was over. We remained, however, at Mahomerah for some days longer before returning to Bushire.

It was then announced in general orders that the troops were to hold themselves in readiness to return to their former stations in Bombay presidency. A few days after this the entire strength of the force paraded, when the Lieutenant-General, Sir James Outram, thanked us for the manner in which we had performed a soldier's duty in the field, to use his words, "without any crime." After he had addressed the force, he called me to the front, and with a few remarks presented me with a handsome silver watch of J. B. Dent's make, and a beautiful gold chain of Persian make. Of course I thanked him, with as few words as possible. He stopped me, replying "Not at all, McKenzie, you are deserving of it, and I am only sorry it is not something better, for I have not forgotten the night attack at Kooshab." I said I did not think I had done anything more than a soldier's duty, and at once returned to my usual place in rear of him. This matter was published in the Indian *Times* by one of his staff.

I may here also say, regarding crime, that the orders issued to the provost-marshal were strict, severe punishment being threatened to any one of the force who should be caught committing crime. Looting was not once heard of, although many chances of doing so offered.

We remained months after we heard that the war was settled, the force not being able to leave until the agreement was signed by the Shah of Persia. As soon as this was done, the troops were at once embarked, as they thought, for home. But far from it; for when our regiment arrived at Bombay, on our way to Kurrachee, we were ordered into another steamer for Calcutta, Bengal presidency, as the Indian mutiny had just broken out. And I am sorry to say that nearly all the women and children waiting for their husbands and fathers respectively, waited in vain, for they were killed during the mutiny.

CHAPTER IV.

The Indian Mutiny. 1857–1858.

THE causes of the Indian mutiny are given in history. I do not think it necessary for me to enter into minute details of the same in this brief account of my life. The feeling in the force was that the following were the ringleaders of it, viz.: Nana Sahib, the Rani of Jhansi, Tantia Topi, and Bahadur Shah, who was proclaimed sovereign of India at Delhi. History also relates that the massacres of the English, men, women and children, were ordered by those named above.

I will now continue to narrate the engagements at which I was present during the mutiny, giving facts which occurred under my own notice.

On the 4th June, 1857, our regiment, the 64th, arrived in Bombay from Persia, and was at once ordered into another steamer, and immediately sailed for Calcutta, Bengal presidency. On reaching Calcutta we found matters very unsettled, as some of the Sepoys, native Indian regiments, had revolted, and were doing much damage at the various military stations they occupied. Our regiment was divided into several detachments, with other corps, and sent up the river Ganges to disarm such native regiments as had not yet mutinied, and to stop at Allahabad when that station should be reached. We performed that duty without any trouble. Eight companies of the

regiment reached Allahabad, to wait for Major-General Havelock, who was to command the force for Cawnpore. The other two companies of the 64th were still engaged in disarming corps when General Havelock took command the last of June. He found that Colonel Neill had succeeded in placing the station in safety.

Finding matters quiet, he at once sent, under command of Major Renaud, about eight hundred men in advance towards Cawnpore, for word had reached Allahabad that Nana Sahib had massacred all the English at that place. This report was found afterwards to be partly untrue, as regards the women and children. Nevertheless, the massacre did occur by order of Nana Sahib before we had time to prevent it.

On the 3rd July, Sir Henry issued orders that the force, consisting of the following corps, would advance on Cawnpore the following day, viz.: 64th, 78th, 84th, a few volunteer cavalry, about two hundred Sikhs and irregular cavalry, with seventy-six artillerymen and eight guns, the latter under command of Captain Maude, R. A.

The general's son was in the same order as aide-de-camp to his father, and my name once more as field bugler to the general commanding. The other officers of his staff were S. Beatson, adjutant-general, and F. Tytler, quarter-master-general. Although the force did not leave Allahabad, as Sir Henry expected, on July 4th, for the recapture of Cawnpore, we left on the 7th; Colonel Neill, with his regiment (1st Madras Fusiliers), being left in charge to guard Allahabad.

During our march to Cawnpore, we suffered severely on account of the heavy rains, and the heat of the sun when it was not raining. Colonel Renaud being in advance of us, Sir Henry sent word to him to look out for the rebels, and not to attack them until he should join him, adding that he was to rest about fourteen miles from Footapore, where he expected to meet him. These orders I heard. Colonel Renaud having learned that a large force had been sent by Nana Sahib, mostly trained Sepoys, cavalry, artillery and infantry, numbering in all about three thousand, to Footapore, Sir Henry, on this information, ordered that we move on to the front, which we did, and joined Colonel Renaud. The whole force, under Sir Henry, then advanced to about four miles from Footapore. Adjutant-General Tytler was sent forward to reconnoitre. On his report, Sir Henry formed his force for action, and advanced. We did not go far before we were attacked by the rebels, but our artillery, supported by three companies of the 64th, armed with Enfield rifles (which were something new to the rebels), soon compelled them to retire. The artillery, Captain Maude's battery, and skirmishing line followed them till they got completely out of order and ran off. The want of cavalry here was felt very much, for our own irregular cavalry fled when a charge was made by the rebels. A change was, however, soon made, for on a general charge being made, all the rebels made off for Footapore, followed by us, until we took from them every gun they had, as well as their baggage, stores, ammunition, and a large quantity of specie. This day

the heat was very severe, and the only casualties we had were caused by sunstroke. As we had marched nineteen miles, and fought a battle, on an empty stomach, it is natural to suppose that the force required something to eat and a rest. Eleven of the rebels' guns were captured, and the rebels, who, a day or so before, had massacred General Wheeler and his men at Cawnpore, received their first lesson for their barbarous act.

On this occasion Sir Henry ordered me to sound the "grog" bugle call. This was the first time I ever sounded that call for him, or by his orders. I had often done so for Sir James Outram. Havelock always had me sound the "coffee" call (a call I invented), whereas Outram would have the men drink grog. In this case, however, he considered a dram of grog would not hurt them, for it would take some time before the breakfast, dinner, and supper all in one, could be got ready.

We rested the next day on the camp ground, at Footapore.

On our way to meet Colonel Renaud we saw several bungalows destroyed by fire, and men hanging from trees, which our force in advance had done. The orders were to hang any of the rebels found killing either Europeans or friends. Many such people had been butchered on this road, hence the cause of the stringent orders given to the provost-marshal. I have seen many prisoners taken and dealt with in this way. It was thus performed. The provost-marshal had a few elephants, or camels, with his party; and when a prisoner was caught in the above act

he was placed on the back of an elephant, a piece of rope put round his neck, fastened at the other end to a tree. The elephant was driven on, and the prisoner left hanging.

We rested, as I said, here for a day. While here Sir Henry learned that the women and children still lived, but were prisoners under Nana Sahib at Cawnpore. Therefore he was very anxious to move on, and if possible save them. But it was not to be so.

The next day, 14th, the force again marched on for Cawnpore. While on the way information was brought that the rebels had taken up a position at Aong, a village a few miles in our front. The force bivouacked for the night, and early the next morning, 15th, marched upon Aong, led by our small body of volunteer cavalry, and artillery supported by infantry. The advance continued until we came in view of the rebels' entrenchments, which were close to a thickly wooded part of the country, which kept them from our view, until they sent their cavalry out to capture our baggage. In this they failed with heavy loss, for although we had but few cavalry, the infantry did the work with their Enfield rifles, causing the rebel cavalry to retire, when they opened fire with their artillery. It was now the real work began. The fire of our artillery and of the Enfields was very effective. Although we could not very well see where they were, the shot and bullets found them, and they eventually left their position. We followed them up closely, capturing their guns. They left many of their tents, baggage, etc., on the route, which they could not take with them for want of time. Their loss was

again heavy, while we had but few casualties. While at dinner here, Sir Henry heard that the rebels had taken up a position at Pandoonudda bridge. This was on the way to Cawnpore, consequently the whole force was immediately ordered to advance, for should this bridge be destroyed, it would take more time than could be spared to erect another before reaching Cawnpore.

On our advancing in fighting order, the first salute we received was a round shot from a twenty-four pounder in position on the bridge, immediately followed by a few more round shot from their earth-works on the other side of the bridge.

Now Sir Henry thought it time to commence. We were still advancing towards them, when he sent me as an aide-de-camp (his son being elsewhere delivering orders at the time), to ride and tell the Madras Fusiliers to get into skirmishing order, ready with the 64th on the other side, and to charge and take the bridge. At this time the artillery was ordered to place three of their guns on the road, and the others on each side, or flank, so as to concentrate all their fire on the twenty-four pounder on the bridge, while the skirmishers lined along the bank kept up a heavy rifle fire. This did not last long before the order was given to take the bridge with a charge, which was done in the best of order. There was a great rush here between the 64th and the 78th Regiments to see which would reach the bridge first. I can say it was a tie, as agreed by the regiments themselves. But the words of Sir Henry to his son and me at the time were, "They are

two noble regiments that any general might be proud to command." This was in reply to a remark made by Captain Havelock during the charge, which was, "Who will be first at them?" The bridge was taken with the twenty-four pounder, but the rebels did not wait for the bayonet. Bullets from the rifles reached them, as well as round shot from the artillery, although they went in all directions, never stopping, rumor said, until they reached Cawnpore.

We were still over twenty miles from Cawnpore; therefore, after advancing a few miles further in pursuit of the rebels, we halted for the night. On the following morning, 16th, we advanced on Cawnpore. Sir Henry again heard that the women and children were still living, and that Nana Sahib had a large force of trained rebels strongly entrenched at Cawnpore. Previous to our marching, Sir Henry announced the fact to us, saying, "The women and children still live, and with God's help we shall save them or die in the attempt." This caused a cheer from the force. But we found afterwards that it was not to be; for when Nana Sahib saw that his strong force was beaten at Pandoonudda bridge, he gave orders for, and was an eye-witness to, the massacre of the women and children in the most brutal manner, in the house in which they had been confined, their bodies being afterwards thrown into a well close by, some of them not being dead. This we did not hear until after we again took Cawnpore.

I will now briefly describe the battle at Cawnpore.

When our force had arrived at about six miles from Cawnpore we halted for refreshments. This was at a village named Maharajpur. A party was sent into it, but no enemy was found. The whole force was talking about how we would save the women. Sir Henry sent forward a party to reconnoitre, and on their way they met two friendly Sepoys, who gave them the information required, viz., that Nana Sahib had a force of more than 7,000, with light and heavy guns waiting for our advance, and had destroyed two roads so that we could not advance by them. On this Sir Henry formed the force so as to flank the rebels, and break up their strong position, which was done, but not without loss from our small force of 1,500 against over 7,000. But the Nana's loss was much heavier, of men trained by ourselves, which was so far a gain to us. But they had many positions to fall back on, and although our whole force was engaged we could not gain much without the usual charge and capture of their guns, which were doing great destruction, and our men were falling fast. The 78th was ordered to charge and take a gun, which they did. In front of the 64th a twenty-four pounder was knocking the men over, as well as smaller guns. Sir Henry sent his son, the aide-de-camp, to order the 64th to take the gun. The aide-de-camp delivered the order, and the men, a company, at once rushed forward for that purpose, led by the aide-de-camp. Major Sterling of the regiment went with the party, but his horse was killed under him by a round shot, and himself thrown. For his gallant act the aide-de-camp received the Victoria

Cross. At the same time a bugler of ours, named Flynn, was mentioned in despatches for his bravery in killing the artilleryman in the act of firing the gun. This same bugler saved Major Sterling's life afterwards at Cawnpore by interposing his bugle to receive the cut of a rebel cavalryman. For these two acts he received the Victoria Cross.

Although the 78th Highlanders captured the three guns at a village, and the 64th took the twenty-four pounder and two other guns, we were only about at the middle of our work, for the Nana had other positions and guns to be yet captured, and our force was between the river Ganges and the trained rebels. A change of position was at once ordered. The whole force advanced under a very heavy fire of shot and musketry, only halting to fire a round or so at the enemy. And as our artillery guns were about a mile in the rear, the infantry and our small lot of cavalry had to gain the day or die in the act. It was not die. By their steady advance the British charge broke Nana Sahib's force, and caused them to run in every direction, and gave us the control once more of Cawnpore. We could see Nana Sahib on his elephant, but he took care we should not catch him, although report afterwards said his elephant was shot under him. The most of the enemy made for Oude.

The reader will remember that this is only a brief account of the advance of Havelock to relieve Cawnpore. During the action I delivered orders from Sir Henry three times as aide-de-camp. I may here also say that nearly all our

force could hear Sir Henry when he gave a command. He was as much exposed during the day as any one in the force. And historians are agreed that the recapture of Cawnpore by Havelock is as noble a deed as any on record, considering that the enemy were soldiers trained by ourselves for years before, and their strength over six to one of us—the attacking force.

The next morning the whole force was marched through the city of Cawnpore, left in front, or 84th Regiment leading, when a man named Shepherd, who was a prisoner, but forgotten by Nana Sahib, came rushing up and led the force to the house of death, which we viewed with horror. The floor was several inches deep with the blood of the women and children; locks of hair were sticking to the walls, with marks of sword-cuts, and some in the well were even then not quite dead. Each man here took a solemn oath not to show any mercy to Nana Sahib or any of his followers.

During this day, Sir Henry had placed in orders that he was well satisfied with the force, and gave praise to each regiment, which he said he would fully state in his official report. I quote his words to the 64th Regiment:

"You have put to silence the jibes of your enemies throughout India. Your fire was reserved until you saw the color of your enemies' mustachios; this gave us the victory."

Now, as Cawnpore was again in our possession, the force visited the barracks and other European buildings, including the magazine, which Nana Sahib destroyed, as well as

the temporary earth-works put up by General Wheeler for the defence of his men, and the women and children above referred to. Sir Henry, having again heard that the Europeans in Lucknow were still safe, gave the force under his command a rest after their very hard-fought battles against heavy odds. While they were taking this well earned relaxation, he again was informed that a strong force under Nana Sahib, consisting of over five thousand men and between forty and fifty guns, were assembled at Bithoor, his own palace, about six miles from Cawnpore. Sir Henry at once prepared with the small force he had to attack them. But when we reached Bithoor, the only rebels we met were twelve of Nana Sahib's guns; for, as the natives at Bithoor told us, Nana's own troops had deserted him, on which his palace was burned down, and we returned to Cawnpore. The next morning, 20th, General Neill arrived from Allahabad with a reinforcement of about two hundred and fifty men, all that could be spared from that place. On this day word came from Lucknow that Sir Henry Lawrence was dead. He had been wounded by the bursting of a shell in the room in which he was sitting, and died of the wound. Sir Henry Havelock expressed himself as very sorry at this, for he was in hopes of meeting Sir Henry Lawrence at the relief of Lucknow.

CHAPTER V.

To Lucknow.

AND now, having received his reinforcement, though small, and not more than filling the places of those we had lost since leaving Allahabad, Sir Henry formed the force for the relief of Lucknow, leaving General Neill in charge of Cawnpore. On the 21st the force commenced to cross the Ganges; on the 24th all was ready, and on the 25th we advanced to relieve Lucknow. In consequence of the heavy rains the fields on each side of the raised road were little better than a swamp, and in many places the water was deep. Our force did not exceed fifteen hundred of all ranks, with very few cavalry; whereas we knew that the rebels, trained by ourselves, had a large number of cavalry. This was a great drawback to our small force. Still the work had to be done, and the garrison at Lucknow, of which Colonel Inglis was in command, had to be relieved.

I never saw our men in better spirits than they were on the word being given to advance. But it was not then to be accomplished, our numbers being found to be too small, though the enemy suffered heavy loss before we returned. We advanced till we came to the town of Unao, where we found the rebels in large numbers and a strong position, every house and wall being loop-holed, while a deep swamp protected their right, and the troops were prevented from attacking them on the left on account of the deep water.

The attack therefore had to be made from the road in front. The artillery, two guns, with the 78th and the Madras Fusiliers, by rapid firing drove the enemy from their first position, gardens just in front of a village, and compelled them to retire to the town, where almost every house was a small battery in itself. Here the rebels fought with more determination and courage than at any place before. Our troops followed, but found that the rebels had formed into order again, as well as any of our European regiments could do, and in great strength. We advanced, however, so quickly on them with heavy firing that they were forced to break and run. It did not take our men long to capture their guns. Twice their cavalry, some of Nana Sahib's own followers, charged on our left, but the 64th, with their Enfield rifles, both by volley and independent firing as skirmishers, soon made them retire with such loss of both horses and men that they did not try again.

We remained at Unao for about three hours to get rest and refreshments, as the sun was very hot. We again advanced, but only for a few miles, when the rebels attacked us from the earth-works they had erected at Busserut Gunge, a town walled, and surrounded by deep ditches, and greatly strengthened by earth-works. The gate in front had a round tower, with four heavy guns on it, and on examining the rear of the town a deep nullah was found, now full of water, and by the small bridge across it was the only way of access to the rebels. The 64th was sent round to this bridge, but before they could get to it the 78th and Fusiliers had driven the rebels from the

town. The 64th gave them a parting shot or so, which they felt, and they lost all their guns. Cavalry was again required here, though the ground was not very fit for pursuit by cavalry. Two engagements and a victory over an enemy about six times our strength was not a bad day's work. As it was now late in the evening, Sir Henry considered it best, as the enemy could not be pursued, to remain for the night at Busserut Gunge. Our loss during the two battles was over eighty killed and wounded, which from our small force was greatly missed. The rebels' loss, report said, was more than sixteen hundred, nearly all killed, as well as nineteen of their guns.

On account of cholera attacking our men, and the sick as well as the wounded having to be looked after, in all about three hundred men, Sir Henry gave orders to retire to Unao. There was some talk among the men as to why we should retire after gaining so much ground. Of course they did not know that we were still about thirty-six miles from Lucknow; nor did they give a thought as to what was to be done with the sick and wounded. The latter could not be sent to Cawnpore, for it would take as many, if not more, to escort them. I was present and heard Sir Henry discuss this matter with his staff. His son, now filling the post of adjutant-general, was one of them. All were of the opinion that under the circumstances it was better to retire for more reinforcements, and find a place for the sick and wounded.

The force again moved back to Mungulwar, only a few miles from Unao. The next morning the sick and

wounded were sent to Cawnpore; the men now saw the object of retiring.

The whole force was sorry for the loss of Colonel Tytler at Busserut Gunge, for although on the staff he was thought an excellent and daring man. But such is war. One of the aides-de-camp was also wounded, and again I was called on more than once to convey orders from the general as an aide-de-camp during the day.

The two companies of our regiment, who had been employed in disarming rebels, joined General Neill during our absence at Busserut Gunge. But many other reinforcements were required before any further advance could be made to relieve Lucknow. And as General Neill had received a small reinforcement, he was again asked to send what men he could to our camp at Mungulwar. This request he complied with, keeping, I may say, only the sick and wounded to defend Cawnpore, trusting to their speedy recovery. Sir Henry considered this a noble act, as I heard him say when the reinforcement arrived.

Among the reinforcement was half of Major Olphert's battery, under command of a lieutenant. As some natives, gun-lascars, were belonging to the battery, Sir Henry asked how they conducted themselves. The reply of the lieutenant was, that once they stated that they would spike the guns if engaged against the rebels, and they had made threats at the beginning of the mutiny to the same effect. Sir Henry at once ordered a parade of all the half battery, both British and natives. He told the natives that for their misconduct and treasonable words he would not allow

them to act as soldiers, and forthwith disarmed them and sent them to Cawnpore to do labouring work on the defences that General Neill was preparing at Cawnpore. Orders were also sent that if they once disobeyed they were to be immediately hanged or shot. The same orders had been issued before we left Cawnpore regarding some Sepoys of the 60th Regiment.

Although the reinforcement arrived as above detailed, our force then only numbered about fourteen hundred men. Sir Henry ordered another advance to Lucknow on August 4th. As we reached Unao, the former battle field, we found no enemy, but not so at their strongly fortified ground at Busserut Gunge, where the rebels were said to have about twenty thousand men, of the three arms, cavalry, artillery and infantry. After our reconnoitring party returned, Sir Henry gave orders for Captain Maude's battery and the infantry to attack their front, which soon caused the rebels to fall back on their second position, or the town where they had the most of their force. During their retreat they suffered considerable loss, for we could see men falling from their ranks as they went. Their force was, however, still very large, and their position, as a defence, well planned. Our little force followed them, not heeding the rebels' round shot, shell and grape, until we entered the town and once more beat them clear of their position. We only captured two guns, as they succeeded in getting out of our reach with the others. But when they were crossing the bridge they again suffered great loss, our cavalry coming up to their rear in time to

cut a few of them off from crossing. We again felt the need of more cavalry. The enemy's total loss this day and night was reported at five hundred, ours being only about twenty killed and wounded. Cholera now appeared again among the troops; more severely this time than on the former occasion; the cause of which was supposed to be the dead not being buried, but lying in the water, which in some places was very deep. Men of our force were dying here; in fact, I may say that the whole place was little better than a swamp. Consequently we returned next morning to Mungulwar, it being an elevated and more healthy position. Here we remained for rest, and to recruit the health of the men.

It was now that Sir Henry found the force at his command not strong enough to relieve Lucknow, and again asked for more reinforcements. I heard him remark that his advance would have one good effect, namely, that it brought the rebel force from the city to meet him, which would give Colonel Inglis and his troops a chance to move out of his position and to seize such things as he could, and which were badly needed.

So much for our second advance for the relief of Lucknow. Another trial was in store for us, and as right was on our side, we ultimately succeeded, as the pages of history tell. For all that, it was a great grief to Sir Henry, and to the whole force under his command, to know that on account of insufficient numbers we could not reach Lucknow, and reinforcements were earnestly entreated. Meantime we remained at Mungulwar, strengthening the

position for defence, as well as putting the bridge communication between Oude and Cawnpore in a better state. Our spies brought word daily to Sir Henry, reporting the rebels as having over seventy thousand armed men in strong positions from Alam-Bagh to Lucknow. So that any attempt to reach the city on our part would inevitably involve our total annihilation, and would be the means of causing another massacre of the women and children such as occurred at Cawnpore.

We had not many days to rest, or to work. Sir Henry learned that the enemy had again assembled at Unao, with the intention of attacking us at Mungulwar, and preventing us from crossing the bridge to Cawnpore should we be compelled to retire. This we did not understand, for to retire is not a British rule, except to enable us to advance again. Orders were issued once more for an advance on Unao; and although we had only about one thousand men of all ranks, the men moved with a good spirit, our volunteer cavalry leading, the artillery supported by infantry following.

On reaching the town of Unao, we met the advanced pickets of the rebels, which were soon driven through the town. We bivouacked here until morning without having eaten anything during the day, except it might be that some had a biscuit in their haversacks. To make things worse it rained very heavily during the night, but by this time the men had become used to rain, and thought nothing of it. The only covering that could be found was the trees, which afforded little shelter; still, I can say, that I

never heard a man complain. They told stories to one another all night long, or walked about, until the sun rose the next morning, August 12th. We again advanced, but before we reached the old fighting ground, Busserut Gunge, we found them in a village nearer Unao, in a stronger position, better entrenched, and containing more guns; and as we could see, their line reached on each side of the village for miles. The general saw at a glance that the only way to attack such a force was by the advance in echelon of battalions, covered by artillery and skirmishers; but as we arrived within range, the enemy poured in a heavy fire which told on us. We could not see their masked batteries till we were close to them; and they, having so many guns, were able to fire round shot, shell, canister, and grape all at once, which came among us, but fortunately for us, their distance being as usual badly judged, their shot went over our heads. Not so the grape, which did us the most harm. It was fearful for a while. Still it did not check our men in the least, for the advance went steadily on until we took our position to get a flanking fire (there is nothing like it) on their line, which surprised them very much. At the same time the 78th was ordered to charge, which they did, and captured their right battery of two guns, driving the rebels from the battery. The Madras Fusiliers turned their cavalry twice, while the 64th attacked their centre and captured a battery, but the guns were gone. Now the guns captured, as well as our own, were turned on the retreating enemy, inflicting heavy damage on them. Once more we beat them from

their position, but not without heavy loss to ourselves. When the return of casualties was received, over one hundred and forty of our force was missing, though we were not over ten miles on the road to Lucknow. Therefore the general gave up all thought of reaching the place for the present, or until a strong reinforcement should arrive. Just then word reached Havelock that Nana Sahib had crossed the Ganges with a strong force to attack Cawnpore. After a short rest, therefore, our force marched back to Mungulwar, crossed the Ganges, and joined General Neill at Cawnpore.

We found that during our absence from Cawnpore General Neill had organized a police from the lowest caste of the population, and by their means a large portion of the property stolen from the Europeans at Cawnpore had been recovered, and many of the mutinous Sepoys concerned in the massacre had been captured and executed. He had also formed an entrenched camp on the high ground by the river side, and had taken every precaution against a recurrence of the fearful tragedy of Cawnpore.

General Neill now reported to Havelock that a strong force of the rebels, mostly Sepoys, were collected at Bithoor, and that their cavalry was now threatening Cawnpore, Nana Sahib being in charge of them. He also reported that the communications with Allahabad were endangered, if not altogether stopped. Havelock had foreseen this before our crossing to advance on Lucknow, but for the want of men could not guard the communication. After a day's rest and care for the wounded, General Havelock sent General Neill with as large a number of men,

cavalry, artillery, and infantry, as could be spared from Cawnpore to reopen the communication with Allahabad; and on reaching the Pandoonudda bridge, met the rebels in one of their old positions for intercepting reinforcements and gaining an easy victory over them. Immediately General Neill attacked them, and after a few shots from the guns and line of skirmishers by volleys the rebels fled with great loss, their dead and wounded lying on the position they had taken up. In accordance with orders received, General Neill, having opened the communication, returned to Cawnpore without one casualty. Havelock now formed the force to attack Bithoor. The men were determined, if possible, to capture Nana Sahib, and word was passed among them to this effect. But it was not to be, for he kept clear, and well in the rear of his troops. At noon we came in sight of the rebels, numbering over four thousand men, and very strongly posted. The plain before their position was covered with thick jungle and sugar-canes, which reached high above the heads of the men. Their batteries were effectually masked, defended by thick ramparts and flanked by entrenched quadrangles. The position was also flanked by villages.

As soon as the enemy's position was observed our artillery at once opened fire on them. In a very short time the enemy retreated into their stronger position, and while retiring, their artillery, from the batteries in their rear, poured in a very heavy shower of shot and shell on our advancing line. This was somewhat of a surprise to our men, and did us some damage. The force continued to advance by rushes, and lay down to fire, while our artillery

kept up a steady fire on their batteries, but could not silence them, though only about six hundred yards distant. The general thought this would not do, and therefore ordered a charge on the batteries by the whole force, which soon put the rebels to flight, for they would not stand for the bayonet. Our men suffered much during this charge: but pursued the enemy to the villages. Every house here was loop-holed, but our troops thought nothing of this, for they soon caused the enemy to make off to the small bridge in rear of the villages, our men after them. Here we could see Nana Sahib, but too far from us to be caught either dead or alive. This was a great disappointment to all, for every man among us had decided to do his best to apprehend him. We passed through Bithoor to a plain, where we bivouacked for the night, and the next day returned to Cawnpore, and took up a commanding position on the ground occupied by General Wheeler before the massacre.

Next day at Cawnpore General Havelock issued orders congratulating the force on their conduct during the nine battles gained since leaving Allahabad. The enemy, being mostly Sepoys, had been trained for years by European officers. But though so far satisfactory, there was yet much work to be done before we were again masters of India, and we now had to wait until the troops on their way from England, China, and the Cape should arrive. Sir James Outram was coming to take command, bringing reinforcements, and he hoped before long that Lucknow would be relieved. But for the present, we must wait, and strengthen our position.

CHAPTER VI.

The Relief of Lucknow.

SIR JAMES OUTRAM, having been appointed to command the force for the relief of Lucknow, was collecting all the resources possible, and sending them forward to Cawnpore. They consisted of cavalry (very few only), artillery, and infantry. Sufficient men could not yet be obtained to meet the enemy at Lucknow. The troops in Bombay presidency had to look after the Sepoys there, who threatened and had mutinied. Delhi had to be attended to as well as other places. Few men, therefore, of the army then in India could be sent to Cawnpore.

General Havelock had received instructions from Sir James Outram to send part of his force across the Ganges to attract the attention of the enemy near Lucknow, and keep them from attacking the forces there, until he should arrive at Cawnpore. Sir James also informed him as follows: "I shall join you with the reinforcements, but to you shall be left the glory of relieving Lucknow, for which you have already so nobly struggled. I shall accompany you only in my civil capacity as commissioner, placing my military services at your disposal, should you please to make use of me, serving under you as a volunteer. Encourage the Lucknow garrison to hold on. Spare no cost in effecting communication with Colonel Inglis. Proclaim at Cawnpore, and cause it to be made known to the leaders of the enemy's forces at Lucknow, that for every

Christian woman or child maltreated at Lucknow, an Oude noble shall be hanged." These orders were carried out by General Havelock, and the population about Cawnpore, as well as in Oude, were soon talking about Sir James's words.

On the 15th September we received reinforcements, and next day Sir James Outram arrived with others. So the force for the relief of Lucknow was about completed, for on that day a divisional order by Sir James Outram stated that the force, selected by General Havelock, which was to march to relieve the garrison at Lucknow, would be constituted and composed as follows:

First Infantry Brigade.—The 5th Fusiliers, 84th Regiment, detachment 64th Foot (two companies), who had just arrived in Cawnpore, and 1st Madras Fusiliers; Brigadier-General Neill commanding, and nominating his own brigade staff.

Second Infantry Brigade.—78th Highlanders, 90th Light Infantry, and the Sikh Regiment of Ferozepore; Brigadier Hamilton (78th) commanding, and nominating his own brigade staff.

Third (Artillery) Brigade.—Captain Maude's battery, Captain Olphert's battery, Brevet-Major Eyre's battery; Major Cooper commanding, and to appoint his own staff.

Cavalry.—Volunteer Cavalry to the left, Irregular Cavalry to the right; Captain Barrow to command; myself as field bugler.

Engineer Department.—Chief Engineer, Captain Crommelin; Assistant Engineers, Lieutenants Simonds and

Judge. Major-General H. Havelock, C. B., to command the force.

I may also here give an extract from Sir James's orders: "The major-general, in gratitude for, and admiration of, the brilliant deeds of arms achieved by General Havelock and his gallant troops, will cheerfully waive his rank on the occasion, and will accompany the force to Lucknow in his civil capacity as chief commissioner of Oude, tendering his military services to General Havelock as a volunteer."

Sir James had chosen for his staff the following: Colonel Napier, Bengal Engineers, chief of the adjutant-general's department; Lieutenants Sitwell and Chamier, aides-de-camp, and Mr. W. J. Money, C. S., private secretary. Sir James, when asked at a meeting he attended, who was the best soldier he had come in contact with, replied without hesitation, "Robert Napier," the colonel above referred to.

On the 16th, as stated, the force commenced to cross the Ganges from Cawnpore to Oude; and the new bridge over the muddy creek beyond being constructed, the whole force had crossed by the 19th, ready to advance on Lucknow. As we started on that march, we met a number of the rebels, but a few shots from a gun, and an advance guard in skirmishing order, soon made them retire. It being late Saturday evening, the force halted for the night among the sand hills on the edge of the river.

The next day, being Sunday, Havelock remained here, and had church service on the field. It was at this parade that Sir James Outram again saw me for the first time

since I left Persia, and I shall never forget the shake hands he gave me, remarking to General Havelock, "We have McKenzie with us again."

After this the heavy guns and baggage were put in position for advance.

On the following morning at daybreak our march again commenced. We had not advanced more than a mile before the enemy's artillery opened fire on us. Our artillery at once got into position and opened fire on them, supported by the 5th Fusiliers in skirmishing order. During this time Havelock had formed a strong force of artillery and infantry from the 1st Brigade, which moved to the right to attack the rebels from that flank. This was his old method of attacking; for he did not believe in advancing on an enemy's batteries which had taken weeks to construct for a defensive purpose. This movement, as well as the shell from our guns, soon put the rebels to flight, leaving two guns which our infantry had captured. Sir James, with the volunteer cavalry, captured two more in a noble charge made by that small body of horsemen, a few men of the 64th, 78th, Madras Fusiliers and civilians, about one hundred in all. The rebels evidently thought they had enough, for they kept out of our sight until we reached Alam-Bagh, although we passed through Unao and Busserut Gunge. We saw many marks of our former visits, but no rebels.

Havelock gave the force a rest for the night in a small village, which had been abandoned, about two miles further on; for the force had marched in a very heavy rain all

day and required some rest and shelter. Early next morning, 22nd, we continued our advance, although the rain did not stop. But I am sorry to say that the coolies (native servants) who had been engaged to assist in the conveyance of the baggage and the wounded had left us during the night, for they dreaded the approach to Lucknow. Time could not now be spared to supply their loss, and the force did their best under the circumstances. Reports stated that the rebels would, before we could reach the residency, have killed all the force advancing to relieve Colonel Inglis; and that the troops and the position they had taken up at Alam-Bagh would leave very little of our army to enter Lucknow.

Gen. Havelock, during our march, expected to hear from the spies he had sent forward, as to the position held by the rebels, and before we reached Alam-Bagh the information was obtained. Our advance guard halted when they came in view of the position of the rebels at Alam-Bagh. We still advanced, Havelock in front, until we came in view of the force we had to attack before we could enter Lucknow, which was drawn up behind a range of hills in large numbers of cavalry, artillery, and infantry, with their left resting on the enclosure of the Alam-Bagh. Gen. Havelock here saw that it would take some time to drive them from the position held and to beat the whole of the Sepoys. The main road towards them was so blocked that it was impossible to advance further by it. He once more tried the flank movement, this time by the left of our force. A feint was made, which led the rebels astray,

when a charge was ordered, resting every now and then to fire a volley. This caused their cavalry on the right to break, immediately followed by their infantry, the artillery firing another shot before they retired. Once the right broke, the whole force of rebels followed, our men in pursuit, and our artillery still firing on them. We followed them through three villages before a halt was ordered. This was one of the worst engagements we had. The fields were a complete morass, and the shot and shell as well as grape flew around us. We captured five of their guns. Sir James Outram, with his handful of volunteer cavalry, showed what Britishers can do, for many of the rebels were laid low by them. Our loss was heavy, but nothing like that of the enemy.

The next day, 24th, we remained in front of the Alam-Bagh, and nearly all the heavy baggage, tents, etc., was placed in the enclosure of the Alam-Bagh, with an escort under command of Major McIntyre. Early the next morning the force advanced by a road, through fields, chosen by Colonel Inglis, Sir James Outram, and General Havelock, as it was impossible to move by the direct road to the residency.

As the force advanced, a number of the rebels who came by our rear were about to attack the small baggage which Havelock thought he could have brought into the residency, but this proved impossible. The aides-de-camp being away delivering orders to other parts of the force, I was sent to the rear to tell the baggage guard to move into the Alam-Bagh, and if I could get back to join him I was

to do so; if not, to remain with the guard and go with them. I delivered the order, but my horse was shot under me, and we had scarcely time to get into the enclosure. But the escort or party already there, acting with the small party just entered, caused the rebels to move off quicker than they came. On account of this I cannot give any further account of the first relief of Lucknow at present, but will describe the second relief in due time.

CHAPTER VII.

At Alam-Bagh.

I WILL now give briefly a detail of my time at Alam-Bagh. Our first duty was to fortify ourselves by erecting batteries, for the rebels were close to us, and firing on us very often. Every available man was kept at this work both day and night, with very little rest, until we had a battery mounted at each corner of the enclosure. We also erected a small battery outside of the enclosure for our picket. During the progress of this work we lost a few men by shell fired from a yellow building where the rebels had a battery, as well as from other positions they had taken up near a village. They gave us a great deal of trouble in this way for weeks. And as we fired a round shot or so at them, the same shot would be returned back to us the next day. As our small force would say when the shot was heard in the air, "Here comes our shot back again." We could always tell the difference, for the shot made by the rebels was very rough, and made a great noise in passing through the air, whereas our shot made very little if any noise. Of course we had sufficient time to get under cover when we heard the country-made shot coming, but very little time if the shot was one which had been fired at them.

We had at this time sufficient eatables for the Europeans, but very little for our native followers (only a few, fortunately), and no forage. Therefore we were compelled to

leave our little garrison, and go in search of forage, and on each occasion were attacked by the enemy, and lost a few more men, but the enemy paid for it. At one of these attacks we took from them a gun and killed about forty men, seizing also all the forage they had in the small village they held. This village was close to the Alam-Bagh, and we found it afterwards to be an advantage to us, for not nearly as many shot came into the enclosure, and we had forage for our cattle as well as food for the few natives with us.

During all this time Major McIntyre and Sir James were communicating with each other. On the residency in Lucknow they erected a pole with a cross board on it, so as to telegraph to us. Of course we erected a similar one, so that every day a good many messages were exchanged between the residency and Alam-Bagh as to how the enemy were moving, etc., etc. Thus our force was made aware how matters were in Lucknow, and they were made acquainted with our doings, as well as how things were going on in Cawnpore. We could get no other information as to how the enemy were acting around the residency, for our spies could not then be trusted. As it was, one of them gave wrong information, which was nearly causing destruction to our little band at Alam-Bagh. This was to the effect that only a small force without any guns occupied a little village which we could not see from the Alam-Bagh building; that they had plenty of forage and eatables, which we could obtain if we went after it. Our little force did go in search of it, but

had not proceeded far before we received a few round shot and a shell. Fortunately for us the rebels fired too soon, and as usual the distance was judged too far. We did not rush at them this time, but retired to our position within the enclosure. The first thing then was to get the spy, but he was off. Still, although this spy deceived us, Sir James at the residency had a faithful one who brought his despatches in a quill or bamboo cane; and in fact this spy never came twice dressed in the same way, and had a different dress for returning. He was well paid, and carried out his duties very faithfully.

All this time reinforcements were joining the force in Cawnpore, and Major Bingham, of the 64th Regiment, brought us two hundred and seventy men and two guns from Cawnpore, also stores of provisions from the commissariat department, but on arrival it was found that there were no supplies among it for the natives. Although these additions were very welcome, they did not altogether meet the want, because the force arriving would consume the most of it, and leave us still in want. This being explained, in a few days another convoy was sent, this time with a full supply of all kinds of stores. Brigadier Wilson, commanding, sent word, if possible, to convey some of the supplies to the residency. This could not be done, for the bridges on the route we would have had to take to get to the residency had been destroyed by the rebels, and the only road to Sir James was a complete battery the whole way, and multitudes of people from Oude were by this time collected at Lucknow.

After the second convoy had arrived, although reaching us safe, the enemy had made ready to attack us at Alam-Bagh with a very strong force. All this time we were preparing for them, outside as well as inside the enclosure. It was a wonder to us that they had not attacked us before we got either reinforcement, but they are not the men to attack, and the poorest race on earth to defend themselves. On this occasion they made an offer only, for they did not approach near enough for our riflemen to do them any harm. All was done by the guns on both sides; and although they did not injure us much, they kept us for a time from working at trenches, etc., outside the enclosure. And when we made a feint of advancing on them in skirmishing order, we could see their artillery retiring. I suppose they feared that our skirmishers would advance on them with the usual charge and capture more of their guns, but they took care we should not do so. On the other hand, perhaps they retired to entice us on to a large fortified position they had in rear, but our force was not large enough to follow, nor did we know at the time of their ground in rear having batteries waiting for us. So they with their very large force, and we with our small one, looked at each other while the artillery did all the firing, until nearly dark, when they retired. It was a mercy we did not follow them, for there was another force of rebels all ready to follow us, and thus get us between two fires; this, however, we did not learn till the next day. The work went on rapidly with our entrenchments outside the enclosure without much trouble, with the

exception of a shot now and then from the yellow building. It was some time before we knew where their gun was placed about this house, for we could not see anything like a battery there. As we afterwards found, in the front part of the building, about ten feet from the ground, a large heavy iron shutter was placed, painted the color of the house, and a large gun in rear of it. The gun was loaded and sighted, and when it was to be fired the shutter was raised by a pulley erected at the top of the inside of the room. When raised the gun moved forward a few inches only, or until the muzzle came in front of the shutter. The gun was then fired, and by its recoil to its original position, the shutter at once dropped, and the smoke after firing prevented us from seeing where the shot came from. But when we did find out, the shutter, and in fact almost all the front of the house, soon moved under well directed round shot from one of our new batteries.

We now heard that Colonel Greathead's column from Delhi had been ordered to Cawnpore for service in Oude, under command of Sir Hope Grant. And Sir Colin Campbell was also marching with a large force in Oude for the final relief of Lucknow. This information was sadly needed, for the troops in the residency were suffering very much for want of supplies. At the same time that we received word that Sir Hope Grant's column was then between the Banni bridge and Alam-Bagh, waiting for Sir Colin Campbell and his force, we at Alam-Bagh also received orders to be ready to join the commander-in-chief, Sir Colin Campbell.

We were ready, for the spare elephants and camels which brought the supplies from Cawnpore were returned to that place under charge of a small force all mounted on elephants or camels, in accordance with Sir James's orders to Major McIntyre. Sir James also sent orders to the major as to signalling, lighting a fire, etc., on the night before the relieving force would march on Lucknow; also to fire guns at intervals. All these orders were carefully carried out, and before the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell or Sir Hope Grant we had Alam-Bagh well fitted up with batteries, with guns in each, but only a few of these were heavy guns.

Just as we expected both these forces to arrive, word came from Cawnpore that the Gwalior mutineers were about to march on Cawnpore. Therefore we thought that they would be driven from there by Sir Colin Campbell's force before he would arrive here for the relief of Lucknow. But such was not the case; for he was anxious to get to Lucknow, if only to relieve the force there and get the women and children in a place of safety, and therefore came on as quickly as possible for that purpose, and arrived here at Alam-Bagh on the 12th November. Previous to this, Sir Colin Campbell had received a full statement of the positions held by the rebels from Sir James Outram, and suggestions as to the best route for him to take on leaving Alam-Bagh to relieve the force at Lucknow. Sir Colin complied with all Sir James's plans except one, which I will describe later, for I will follow our march in detail.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Relief of Lucknow.

ON the 14th Sir Colin formed the force on the plain in front of the Alam-Bagh, about five thousand of all ranks, including cavalry, artillery, infantry, and navy, taking the heavy guns and almost all the baggage belonging to the force in the residency, but leaving a small force and guns in the Alam-Bagh enclosure to hold that position. Here I was again chosen as the general's bugler, and at once received a horse fully equipped for the one shot under me on the 25th September at this place *en route* for first relief of Lucknow. In accordance with Sir James Outram's request, the salute was fired as we started to advance towards the Dilkoosha, moving across the country. Dilkoosha is a palace surrounded by gardens, about three miles from the residency. The route taken was a very rough one, full of sugar-canes, and hard for our cavalry to get through. Still every man knew what was in front, and was determined to push along as fast as possible. I may here remark that I heard Sir Colin say during this march: "The men behave well, and appear to be in the best of spirits, and are anxious to get at the enemy in front."

I have stated above that the force numbered about five thousand all ranks. I will now give corps and commanders of the six brigades.

1. First Naval Brigade, Captain William Peel.

2. Artillery Brigade, comprising Batteries of Blunt, Remmington, Travers, Bridge and Bourchier, commanded by Brigadier Crawford.

3. The Cavalry Brigade, comprising two squadrons of 9th Lancers, one each of 1st, 2nd and 5th Punjab Cavalry, and Hodson's Horse, commanded by Brigadier Little.

4. First Infantry Brigade, comprising a battalion formed of detachments of three regiments, 64th, 78th and 84th, shut up in the residency, and the 2nd Punjab Native Infantry, commanded by Colonel Greathead, Brigadier.

5. Second Infantry Brigade, comprising the 93rd Highlanders, a wing of the 53rd Regiment, and 4th Punjab Native Infantry; also, a battalion formed of men proceeding to join their regiments to be relieved, commanded by Colonel Adrian Hope, Brigadier.

6. Third Infantry Brigade, comprising the 23rd Fusiliers, and a portion of the 82nd Regiment, commanded by Colonel Russell, Brigadier.

Colonel Hope Grant, with the rank of brigadier-general, directed the operations, under the supervision of the commander-in-chief, Sir Colin Campbell. This was our small force, not numbering in all five thousand, which had to compete in a war against over sixty thousand, mostly Sepoys trained by ourselves, and in their own country. Thus it can be seen that it required great generalship, as well as determined men, to gain the victory in this great contest, the second relief of Lucknow. The rule was victory or die, and as right was on our side it was victory, which history tells.

I stated above that Sir James Outram sent a plan and suggested the route he thought best for Sir Colin Campbell to take on his advance to the residency. Sir James knew all about the route, buildings, etc., while Sir Colin did not.

As we left Alam-Bagh, Sir Hope Grant, with a small force, moved on Jelalabad, and beat the rebels, captured two guns, and drove the men who were not killed from the position held by them. He again met us before we reached Dilkoosha, and reported to Sir Colin Campbell what he had done. When he, Sir Colin, heard from his spy that a force of the enemy was at Jelalabad, he wisely thought it best to have them removed, and not allow them the chance of attacking us in rear, or annoying the baggage guard.

As our advance guard came in sight of Dilkoosha the enemy opened fire on them from a battery they had in position; also their infantry fired from their matchlock muskets, but did no harm. Sir Colin formed our force in position; and a few rounds from our guns, as well as from our infantry, who supported the artillery in skirmishing order, caused the rebels to leave their position; when our cavalry were ordered after them, and killed a number. Two guns were captured here, and about one-half of the enemy killed. It took us about three hours to capture this place.

After a rest of about half an hour we moved on to the Martiniere building, where we found the rebels in a far stronger position, and in larger numbers both of men and guns. Sir Colin and Sir Hope soon got our force in posi-

tion for attacking them, and after a heavy cannonading on both sides, as well as infantry fire, we soon put them on the run, leaving all their guns behind, and a number killed. They made off towards the barracks, which was the strongest position they held during all the fighting this day, each building near it being nothing less than a battery in itself, they were so loop-holed and manned by the enemy. At a short distance from this, the mess house, a large building, stood, having larger and heavier guns mounted on it as a fort. This we could see, and prepared for work with the usual charge to capture it, which had to be done before we could advance further. It being late, however, we returned to the Dilkoosha, leaving a force to hold the ground we had gained until the following morning, 15th. But our force remained here until the 16th. By information Sir Colin had received, the attack on the mess house could not be made on the 15th; for in place of moving on the Secundra-Bagh, as suggested in Sir James Outram's plan, the force had to move along the river bank for about a mile, which brought us between two fires, and we suffered much on account of it. Still it had to be done, for nearly all the enemy had collected on the route Sir James wished Sir Colin to take. After the plan for attack was made, the rebels had strengthened their position. Although our force suffered here it was a gain at the end. Another drawback was, that it took some time to get our heavy guns in position to attack the Secundra-Bagh, which is a square building surrounded by a wall of solid masonry, and loop-holed all round. A village on the opposite side

was also loop-holed in every house. The square around Secundra-Bagh is from one hundred and fifty to two hundred yards in length. It took all our guns, heavy and light, as well as our infantry, to attack both these places, for upwards of two hours. All this time our heavy guns were trying to make a breach in the solid wall around the building. At last a small hole only was made in it, then the charge by the infantry was ordered. The two nearest regiments were the 93rd Highlanders and the Sikhs. Both these regiments made a great rush to see who would be first, but only one man at a time could enter the hole, and a few men of each corps were killed before the large gate, which was a very strong one and strongly barred, was opened. Then both regiments rushed in, and in a short time the two thousand rebels who occupied the building were either shot or burned. In the meantime our artillery and infantry had cleared every house in the village. The loss of the rebels in both of these places was heavy, over four thousand of them lay dead. Our cavalry could not do much here on account of the houses. When our force saw the burned at the Secundra-Bagh building, they remarked: "This is retribution for Cawnpore."

The force then advanced and attacked the Shah Najuf, a massively built mosque in the direct road to the residency, situated in a garden surrounded by very strong loop-holed walls, and guns in position. Captain Peel, with his heavy guns, as well as our other heavy guns, fired on this mosque and wall for three hours, but could not make

a breach in the wall or move the rebels from their position. Sir Colin thought three hours long enough to keep his force in front of an enemy to be fired at, and not gaining any advantage by it. He therefore gave the usual order to his force to prepare and take the mosque by the charge, which was done, for it never yet failed. Although a large number of our force was killed, they, I may say, slaughtered the rebels, for very few of them got clear. This action was considered by Sir Colin Campbell as hard as any ever gained or fought by a British force. This ended one day's work, for it was now late.

The next morning, 17th, the first thing done was to bury the dead. Outside the Secundra-Bagh a large trench was dug, about twenty feet square and six feet deep, in which all killed and burned were buried. The force was then ordered to advance on the mess house, of which I have above given a brief description. On our approach to this building we found it a far stronger position and better fortified than the Secundra-Bagh. Again here our heavy and light guns had to be brought up to attack the rebels' heavy guns, which were mounted on and near the building; and for over two hours continually firing from our heavy guns, it appeared to us as if there had not been a round of shot fired at the building; for the rebels did not stop their fire, or even make a move to leave their position. So our infantry had to be called on to capture it. And as the infantry advanced for that purpose, the rebels opened up a fire of shot and shell from their position at the Kaisar-Bagh. This was somewhat of a surprise to all our

force. Still the advance continued, and never stopped until they drove the rebels clear of the mess house, hospital, and barrack, with thousands of dead left behind them. Here again Sir Colin remarked: "The men worked bravely." No doubt his remarks in this case were correct; for all our force had made up their minds to beat the rebels or die in the act; for all had seen or heard of the building in Cawnpore, where the fiend, Nana Sahib, had committed the massacre. After the ditches and mud wall were cleared, our force followed up what few remained, and did not leave a man for our cavalry to catch.

I will here name the corps who were in advance during this attack, as well as of officers. Captain Wolsely of 90th, and Captain Hopkins of 53rd; also Lieutenant Powlett commanded a detachment composed of men of 90th and Punjab Native Infantry. The whole force, of course, supported the movement, but the above named were in skirmishing order, and the front or fighting line. Still all available men under Sir Colin's command had something to do, for volley after volley had to be fired before our attacking force reached the enemy's position or mess house. Our force still advanced towards the residency, but again had to attack the Moti Mahal, another position held by the rebels, as well as other buildings near it. Again we had to fight buildings, not men; for a man could not be seen. Still there were many of them at this place, who fired from the loop-holes, as well as firing from their heavy and light guns. Our heavy guns here knocked

a house or two down; but this was tedious work, so thought our commander, for he ordered the charge on the Moti Mahal, which was taken in a short time. The whole force were then ordered to attack the other buildings. Not a man of the rebels who were in one of the buildings when our force reached them escaped, although a number of them made off to join another position held in our front.

We had now reached communication with the residency, but the rebels in our front were yet numerous. In spite of this, Sir James Outram, Sir Henry Havelock, who had now been knighted, and their staff, Captain Havelock (late Sir Henry M. Havelock-Allan, Bt.), Colonel Napier, Vincent Eyre, Dodgson, Sitwell, Kavanagh and Russell, all started out to meet Sir Colin Campbell. During their coming to us four of them were wounded—Captain Havelock, Napier, Sitwell, and Russell—although they had not come over half a mile. So the reader can imagine that the rebels kept a strict eye on the residency; and the firing of the guns at the Kaisar-Bagh was so heavy that the force in the residency could not yet leave there. I need scarcely say that the meeting of the three generals was not expected, at least by Sir Colin Campbell. Still the usual congratulations were made, and the way to get the women and children, etc., from the residency was talked over. When Sir James Outram and his party above named returned to the residency, just as Sir James was moving away he saw me and came towards me, offering his hand—and as I took his hand he said, "McKenzie, I am glad to see you safe."

Of course I returned the compliment. When Sir Colin saw this he remarked, "Sir James, McKenzie makes a good aide-de-camp." Sir James's answer was "I know it well." I may here say that I had performed the duty of aide-de-camp a few times by Sir Colin's order.

While our attack was going on at the Moti Mahal, Sir James, in the residency, was not idle, for, as agreed between Sir Colin and him, the mines in the residency under the engine house, as well as the outer wall of the garden, were blown up to enable him also to open fire on the position we were attacking. This brought the enemy again between two fires. Still they having so large a force, over seventy thousand by this time, at Lucknow, it it was a miracle that our troops ever left the residency. Sir Colin saw the only way it could be managed was by making a feint to attack with his whole force the Kaisar-Bagh, and our force moved in that direction, which caused the rebels to move off to the Kaisar-Bagh. Our heavy mortars threw thirteen and one-half inch shell for about two hours on this place. In the meantime the force in the residency were preparing to move out; and they having previously beaten the enemy from two of their positions immediately outside of the residency, Sir Colin ordered a strong picket to line a narrow lane leading up close to the residency. Thus the women and children, with the sick and wounded, passed from the residency to the Dilkoosha without a single casualty. This was on the 20th, and by orders issued by Sir Colin, Sir James Outram vacated the residency with his force, state prison-

ers, and baggage, which included the large quantity of money and valuables he had in the treasury; and by 12 midnight on 22nd the whole force had moved to the Dilkoosha, leaving the enemy still attacking the residency, which was vacant for two days or so.

The women, children, and wounded were afterwards sent under a strong escort to Cawnpore on their way to Allahabad, and Sir Henry Havelock was removed from the Alam-Bagh to the Dilkoosha. The men of Sir Colin's force then learned for the first time that Sir Henry was very ill. At first the doctors thought that by moving him from the Alam-Bagh he would recover; but it was not to be, for on the 24th he died. I can truthfully say there was not a man in the force but felt sorry for his death, and from the highest to the lowest expressed themselves so. The next morning, 25th, his corpse was moved to Alam-Bagh, and the next day, 26th, was buried there. Sir Colin and a large number of the force attended the funeral. Sir James Outram could not attend, as he had to remain in charge of the force at the Dilkoosha, but he made arrangements to have the grave levelled and marked, so that it could be found. I may here mention that previous to my leaving the Dilkoosha with Sir Colin, Sir James told me that I would be recommended for the Victoria Cross, for that my action on the 25th September alone, when ordered to proceed to the baggage guard by General Havelock with orders as an aide-de-camp, to which he was an eye-witness, would entitle me to receive it, and that he had told Major Bingham, then there at Dilkoosha, about it.

The force being now relieved from the residency at Lucknow, and as I had to leave Sir James Outram, with Sir Colin Campbell, for Cawnpore, before continuing my narrative, I wish to make the following statement.

As I had been closely connected during the Persian campaign and Indian mutiny with both Sir Henry Havelock and Sir James Outram in my capacity as field bugler to them, may I ask the reader to excuse me for giving briefly my opinion of these two generals, as to how they looked after the force, etc., under their command. Sir Henry Havelock, although carrying out discipline among the force, always saw that the men received proper care and rest, if possible; and during a march, if time permitted, he would see that each of the men had a cup of coffee issued to them before the march was resumed. On Sundays he would rest the force, if at all possible, and have church service on our camp grounds, himself officiating as our clergyman. I may also here say that I have seen him take the Bible and read from it in the morning long before the force would be moving in camp or bivouac, and he was considered by the whole force under him to be a very good man, as well as a good soldier.

Sir James Outram was equally thoughtful for the force, but the orders given by him to the provost-marshal were strict, which prevented looting (stealing). Still I have often heard him say the discipline in the force could not be better; and where Sir Henry Havelock would order coffee for his brigade, Sir James would order a dram of grog for his. I have also seen Sir James reading from

the Bible previous to leaving camp or bivouac. His forethought was marvellous, for he could at all times see where an advantage could be gained, and make preparations for it beforehand. He was also very quick to see a fault in a movement or otherwise, and I do not think he committed a single mistake in the whole time I was with him that the force under him could complain of; but the whole force saw many times the advantages he gained, and in front of the enemy nothing would stop him from being in front to lead his force.

As an explanation it may be necessary for me to here state that I had to be close to the general commanding both day and night, therefore had a good opportunity to hear what was said as well as to see what was done.

The commander-in-chief, Sir Colin Campbell, now divided the force, leaving about four thousand at Alam-Bagh under command of Sir James Outram, the balance to proceed with Sir Colin to Cawnpore. The orders for Sir James Outram were to guard and hold the Alam-Bagh until a force arrived for the recapture of Lucknow. Now Sir James saw that the orders he had issued to Major McIntyre to fortify as much as possible the position at Alam-Bagh had been carried out very satisfactorily, and found it to be a great advantage to him in front of an enemy of over seventy thousand strong, when he had only about four thousand of all ranks. It will be remembered that Sir James Outram was high commissioner in Oude as well as general officer commanding.

CHAPTER IX.

Return to Cawnpore.

AFTER the relief of Lucknow Sir Colin Campbell issued a general order thanking the force for the manner in which the relief had been performed. Alluding to the withdrawal, he said it was a model of discipline and exactitude, the result of which was that the rebels were completely thrown off their guard, and the retirement had been successfully carried out in the face of fifty thousand of the enemy, through a narrow lane, the only line of retreat open.

Leaving four thousand of all ranks with Sir James Outram at Alam-Bagh, Sir Colin took the remainder of the force to Cawnpore, in number about six hundred cavalry and five thousand infantry, with forty-two guns. This force he divided into six brigades, as follows:

1. Cavalry Brigade, commanded by Brigadier Little. This consisted of the 9th Lancers, parts of the 1st, 2nd and 5th Punjab Cavalry, and Hodson's Horse.

2. Artillery Brigade, commanded by Brigadier Dupuis, consisting of Captains Peel's Naval Brigade, Blunt's, Remmington's, Bourchier's, Middleton's, Smith's, Longden's, and Bridge's Batteries.

3. First Infantry Brigade, commanded by Brigadier Greathead. This consisted of the 8th, 64th, and 2nd Punjab Regiments.

4. Second Infantry Brigade, commanded by Brigadier A. Hope, consisting of the 53rd, 42nd, 93rd, and 4th Punjab Regiments.

5. Third Infantry Brigade, commanded by Brigadier Inglis. This consisted of the 23rd, 32nd, and 82nd Regiments.

6. Fourth Infantry Brigade, commanded by Brigadier Walpole, consisting of the 2nd and 3rd Battalions Rifle Brigade, and a part of the 38th Regiment.

This force, under command of Sir Colin Campbell, left the Alam-Bagh for Cawnpore on the 27th November, and arrived at Mungulwar, a distance of fifty miles, on the evening of the 28th; when Sir Colin immediately crossed the river Ganges and met General Windham.

Previous to Sir Colin Campbell's leaving Cawnpore for the relief of Lucknow, he left General Windham in charge there, with the head-quarters of the 64th Regiment, about five hundred strong, with a few Sikhs, and gave him orders to hold the city, and not to move from the entrenchment on the river bank to attack the rebels. During Sir Colin's absence at Lucknow, General Windham had received reinforcements, and as the Gwalior contingent had collected around Cawnpore for some miles, under command of Tantia Topi and Nana Sahib, with a strong force of over twenty-five thousand men, mostly Sepoys, divided into two distinct bodies, with forty guns, General Windham had moved out to about six miles from the entrenchment to attack them. In doing so he was completely beaten, and driven back to the entrenchment, with heavy loss.

The 64th Regiment lost more at this engagement than they had during all others at which they were present during the mutiny. They were ordered to attack Tantia Topi's position, which they did, but the general did not order any support to the regiment; therefore, they were surrounded by the enemy, and not one-half of them got back to the entrenchment, which the other part of the force had reached long before them. After the rebels had driven Windham and his force into the entrenchment, they burned up every European house at Cawnpore; also the clothing and necessaries, stored in a house, for the use of the whole force, and stole everything they could lay hands on, among them some very valuable articles. This was the state of affairs as found by Sir Colin on his return to Cawnpore.

I will not state the few words I heard Sir Colin say to General Windham when they met, but may say that he was angry.

On the 29th Sir Colin and the force commenced to cross the river, and took up a position on the plain formerly held by General Wheeler. At the same time the women and children, with sick and wounded, were sent to Allahabad under an escort. It took four days to complete arrangements. Sir Colin then examined the rebels' position, which he found to be a very strong one, and at once formed the force for attack, which was made on the 6th December. After an artillery fire for about two hours without much advantage being obtained, the First Infantry Brigade, commanded by Brigadier Greathead, was ordered

to make a feint attack on the enemy's centre, while the other three infantry brigades, commanded by Brigadiers Hope, Walpole and Inglis, were ordered to attack their right. Walpole's brigade at once crossed the canal and attracted the fire of the rebels, while Hope's brigade, supported by Inglis's brigade, moved to the left, then wheeled round and charged the unprotected flank of the rebels' right, which completely drove them into confusion. Then Inglis's brigade came forward, and the whole force beat the enemy from their first position; but their second position, which was a stronger one, towards the canal, had yet to be gained. Our force now changed position while the artillery were firing on the rebels retreating, and our cavalry here did good work. So far a large number of Tantia Topi's force had been killed. And here again Nana Sahib was seen on his elephant, but could not be reached, either by shot or bullet, and he took good care that no man should catch him. We had thus far captured nine of the rebels' guns, but they had several others yet to be taken. Now the rebels' position could be fired on from our entrenchment, and Sir Colin ordered General Windham to attack them with the guns he had, while our force was preparing and forming to attack their second position.

When our force was formed the Second Brigade were ordered to attack a bridge which the rebels had constructed over the canal in case they should be compelled to retire. Our line of skirmishers advanced on this bridge. The artillery fire made no impression on the rebels' heavy gun mounted on the bridge; and the infantry was preparing

for the usual charge when Captain Peel rushed up with one of his siege guns, which soon cleared the bridge, and remained with other guns in the entrenchment firing on the enemy's earth-works on the other side of the bridge; and our artillery and infantry by their flanking fire soon put them on the run from their earth-works, leaving nearly all their guns. Now our cavalry came into play and killed a large number of the enemy. In this case the rebels did not run in all directions, as others had done, but soon formed and moved off in regular order towards the river Ganges to cross into Oude, our force after them. Sir Hope Grant, who was in Oude, had been sent for, and arrived just in time to meet the rebels on the banks of the river and prevent their crossing. His force and the First Brigade of Infantry followed them up, and completely slaughtered them, taking every gun they had. The 9th Lancers and the cavalry with Sir Hope Grant did great work here, and after following them for over ten miles, fighting all the time, returned to Cawnpore.

It can be seen that when the rebels retired in proper order, fighting while doing so, they understood discipline and had a good commander. Now once more Cawnpore came into our possession, although it took three days' hard fighting to again win it.

The next day Sir Colin learned that the rebels had again assembled in larger numbers, and were moving towards Fatehgarh. For the want of sufficient carriage Sir Colin could not follow, but he sent brigades to occupy Itawah and Manipuri; and on the 23rd Sir Colin, with

the balance of the force, marched on Fatehgarh. During our march Brigadier Seaton met us with his force from Delhi, and the two brigades previously sent forward joined us on approaching Kali Nudie. We had several skirmishes on our way, but nothing of note occurred until we arrived at this place, Kali Nudie, on 2nd January, 1858. Here we met the rebels in large numbers, occupying a strong position at a bridge and a fort or entrenchment on the other side of the river. The enemy had partly destroyed the bridge. As our advance guard came in sight the rebels attacked us from their position on the bridge and entrenchments. Sir Colin then formed his force and immediately attacked them with artillery and infantry, and in consequence of the heavy fire, first on the bridge, the enemy ran off, leaving the gun. Our force now made towards the bridge to cross it, when it was found to be dangerous to cross, as the enemy had, as stated above, nearly destroyed it. Consequently we had to wait until the bridge was repaired, and could not do more than use our heavy and light guns on their position or entrenchments. The party repairing the bridge suffered; and the rebels even came close to the bank of the river to fire on them, although we had a line of skirmishers on our side of the river who kept them somewhat in check. The bridge now being repaired the whole force advanced and crossed the bridge, but in doing so lost very heavily, for we were nothing but targets for the enemy to fire at, although our artillery covered our advance. Still before one-half of our force had crossed, the rebels were severely punished for

our loss. The whole force having crossed over formed to attack the entrenchments, three in number, and well constructed. Our artillery, with siege guns under Captain Peel, fired continuously for over two hours, while the infantry looked on resting themselves. But two hours doing nothing was considered long enough; for Sir Colin gave orders for the infantry to prepare to take the entrenchments with the charge. On this order being given every regiment was anxious to be first to get at them. "The artillery cease firing. Infantry charge" was the word of command, and the charge was well carried out, for the three entrenchments and every gun the rebels had were captured, and many hundreds of them were killed in the entrenchments; in fact not one of them that could be got at lived to tell the story. Although our cavalry had followed them, the ringleaders got clear with a large number. Over four thousand of the enemy here lay dead. These had to be buried, with our own (not a hundred), the next day. After performing this unpleasant duty we marched into the fort at Fatehgarh erected by Nuwab, a man equal to Nana Sahib in his cruelties towards the Europeans.

Here we remained for about a month, until more troops arrived, as a large number were arriving daily from England, and continued to do so until Sir Colin's return from Allahabad, where he went to meet the governor-general, Lord Canning. This rest was badly needed by the force, and as we now had of all ranks over ten thousand men, the enemy could see that we had an army sufficient to

meet them, not the same as Sir Henry Havelock's fifteen hundred or one thousand of all ranks, when we first attacked them on our way to Cawnpore, for the recapture of that place.

I may here mention that our present field marshal, Lord Roberts, was with this force, attached as one of the quartermaster-general's staff, and during the siege of Delhi and second relief of Lucknow had done good work in that department. I may also state that the present general, the Right Honorable Sir Edward Lugard, commanded a brigade during the mutiny, and was considered the right man in the right place by all ranks.

During Sir Colin Campbell's absence a force, consisting of seventeen battalions of infantry, a large number of cavalry, and one hundred and thirty-four guns of light and heavy calibre, including mortars, most of them lately from England, assembled at Cawnpore to be ready for the siege of Lucknow. While this force was assembling, the first brigade of Sir Colin's column, commanded by Brigadier Greathead, was sent towards Rohilcond to assist Sir Hugh Rose in Central India. The 64th was in this brigade, and I accompanied them, as Sir Colin went to Allahabad. The troops failed to meet Sir Hugh, on account of so many skirmishes with the rebels on the way. It was nothing but fighting, day and night, for four days, which was very annoying, as the rebels would not form, nor take up any fighting position. Still they lost many men and four guns. They made a stand at Kukrala, where they were largely increased in number by a force

of rebels already in a position there. We immediately formed for attack; and after about three hours hard work, by both artillery and infantry, we beat them from their position, and took three more guns from them. Once we got them on the run our cavalry did splendid work, killing every one they met. In all, their loss here was about three thousand.

The brigade now rested for a day, and on the following day we again marched after the rebels. But meeting Sir Colin's column, we again joined him, and marched on Shagihonpore, where it was reported that a large force of the rebels, with Nana Sahib commanding, who had been driven from Lucknow, had assembled; but when we arrived there, Sir Colin heard that they had moved off to Bareilly. Sir Colin left a small force here, under command of Colonel Hale, to hold Shagihonpore. The remainder of the force now moved on to Bareilly, which was a very strongly fortified place, with a large number of the rebels, consisting of cavalry, artillery and infantry, under command of the Maulavi of Lucknow, and Nana Sahib of Cawnpore. Sir Colin formed the force at once for attack. In the first line was the Highland Brigade, composed of the 42nd, 79th and 93rd, supported by the Sikh Regiment, the 4th Punjab Rifles, and the Baluch Battalion. In the second line the 64th, 78th and 82nd Regiments, and the 2nd and 22nd Punjab Infantry protected the baggage and siege train, with cavalry and artillery on both flanks of each line. Having arrived in front of the rebels' position, our artillery opened fire with

heavy shot on them, and our line of skirmishers, with a rapid fire from their rifles, caused the rebels to fall back some, yet they held their position until our skirmishers arrived within a few hundred yards of them. Just as they were about to charge, to capture two guns which were doing much damage to our advanced line, the rebels made off, taking these guns with them. Here their cavalry came out to attack our line of skirmishers, who had to form into squares to resist them. However, a few volleys from the squares, as well as grape from our artillery, made their cavalry break, when our cavalry went after them. At this attack we lost considerably, but the rebels' loss was over six to our one; for the ground, as we advanced, was covered with a very large number of them, either dead or dying. Yet up to now we had not the pleasure of capturing any of their guns; but before the day's work was over all their guns were taken. We now had a rest for a few minutes, previous to advancing again, to allow our cavalry to again get into position. We again advanced, but had not gone far before the rebels attacked us with their heavy guns and infantry from a stronger position which they held just in front of the town, as well as from loop-holed houses and earth-works containing both artillery and infantry. Sir Colin ordered our artillery to fire with their heavy guns, the light guns being moved to about two hundred yards further from the flanks, when the whole, both heavy and light guns, fired on the rebels' position. This soon caused them to leave and run, but in this case leaving their guns in the earth-works, as well as many killed. In following

them up, we found they had as strong a position on each side of the town. In fact, three sides of Bareilly, as well as the whole town, was fortified, and we had to attack each in turn. As we beat them from one, they went to the other. But they were, I may say, slaughtered in doing so, for all our force were engaged. Our cavalry could not get at them as yet, but they did so before the fighting was finished.

We were sure that we had Nana Sahib here, but it was not to be, as he got off to Nipal before the engagement was half over. The rebels' cavalry again moved out to attack us. This time they made for our baggage, but our baggage guard soon made them retire. This gave our cavalry a chance to get at them, which they did, and many of the rebels' horses went galloping round the country and into the town without a rider before our cavalry returned to us. Our force was now large, and did not take hours or days to gain a position, as was the case when our men were only about one thousand strong, all ranks, against from five thousand to ten thousand strong.

Sometimes, too, our force would have a needful rest in a change of a position being made. Not so with Sir Henry Havelock's small force, when it had to be all rush to do the work, which history tells was done.

Now Sir Colin considered it best to attack the rebels' position on the right, and drive them from their earth-work and buildings. This attack was successfully carried out, after which the attack was made on their earth-works on the left of the town. This done both earth-works and

town were in our possession, as well as all their guns. The cavalry now had plenty of work in following them up. Still a large number of the rebels got clear, the Maulavi of Lucknow, one of their commanders, among them, and they again moved off in the direction of Shagihonpore, where we followed them. This took five days. On our arrival we found Colonel Hale, who had been left there in charge, all ready in position to receive the rebels, but he was not strong enough to attack them. Sir Colin at once formed the force for attack, and although it took all day to beat them it was done; mostly by our cavalry and artillery with a line of skirmishers, which compelled them to run, our force in pursuit. Between our artillery fire, the cavalry charges, and the infantry volleys in skirmishing order, many of the rebels were left either killed or dying.

Sir Colin now distributed the brigades to different parts and closed the campaign, as Rohilcond was reconquered and every position held by the rebels was now in our possession. It was here that Sir Colin and I parted, and I will never forget the shake of his hand as I left.

Although we did not either capture or kill the Maulavi of Lucknow, one of the principal ringleaders of the mutiny, on his return to Oude he wanted to force the Rajah of Powain, a friend of the British government, to take up arms and join him. This request was not complied with, and a brother of the Rajah shot him. Sir Hugh Rose's force had previously killed the Rani of Jhansi, another of the ringleaders. Still it is surprising that Nana Sahib, for

whom the government had offered £10,000, dead or alive, escaped, as well as Tantia Topi, to some place unknown.

The different regiments here parted, and although no regular engagements of any consequence occurred, each regiment had sufficient work to do in following the rebels from place to place in a kind of guerilla warfare. Speaking of guerilla warfare, I may here mention that Captain Sir Henry M. Havelock,* Bt., son of Havelock of Cawnpore and Lucknow, organized a mounted force in Oude and did excellent work there, killing a large number in three days and clearing his part of Oude from rebels. Our regiment, the 64th, had several skirmishes, and took a rest for a day or so at Agra and Meerut; and although we only lost five men, many of the rebels were killed. Our orders were to move until we reached Mauh, the central military station between the Bengal and Bombay presidencies, which place we did not reach until late in August. After resting here for several days we moved to our former station, Kurrachee, in Bombay presidency, with about one-third of the number we had before leaving there for Persia in 1856. Here we met the women and children of the regiment, but they had only a very small number of husbands or fathers to welcome back. So much for war.

I may explain for my readers the reasons why we beat

*Sir Henry M. Havelock, afterwards, on his marriage, took the additional name of Allan. He rose to the rank of lieutenant-general. He was killed December 30, 1897, while accompanying the expedition on the north-west frontier of India.

the rebels, although they numbered over six to our one, and sometimes as many as twenty to one of us. They had at one time a force against us of seventy-five thousand, while we had not five thousand, of all ranks. But the ringleaders of the mutiny compelled all males capable of bearing arms to join them; and they of course, being undrilled and not understanding discipline as the Sepoys did, would not stand before us. They were not even able to move into any military position for attack when ordered by their commander to do so. Consequently the moment our force attacked them, and made an advance on them, especially if by the charge, they would break away from any formation they were assembled in, and run, leaving their guns in our possession. Although thousands of them lay dead on the ground, the most of them had been shot as they were running; and as we often said, "If they don't stand for the bayonet, a ball will catch them." During my many battles I have never once seen them stand to their post to resist a charge, which was always made in true British style, with such a cheer as Her Majesty's forces only can give.

We were better pleased to learn that their force was larger in numbers at each engagement we had; for it was always found that the quicker we could advance on them the sooner we would have possession of their position and guns. Sometimes, however, it took a day to get them to run; and, if possible, the flank movement was always made on them. I know that in some cases they would not have one hundred Sepoys among one thousand of

them. In this way the reader may have an idea how we, with Havelock's fifteen hundred, should recapture Cawnpore when Nana Sahib had nearly that many thousands against us. I think that British pluck helped the good generalship. This occurred all through the mutiny, and each day the rebels increased in numbers. At Lucknow there were over one hundred thousand, for they collected there from all parts. Still our force under Sir Colin Campbell's command relieved Sir James Outram and his little band from the residency, as history tells, and recaptured Lucknow, although many thousands of the rebels were against him. As Sir Henry Havelock often said in my hearing, "Right was on our side and God was with us."

CHAPTER X.

At Kurrachee.

ALTHOUGH the regiment returned to Kurrachee only about one-third as strong as before leaving that station for Persia, we found that during our absence two drafts of recruits for our regiment had arrived from England, four hundred and thirty, all ranks, including three officers; and in less than six months after our arrival the regiment was made up to its full strength from other regiments which had arrived in India before we did, and were now ordered home to England. Men are allowed to volunteer or to be transferred in this way who may wish to remain in India.

By general order the women and children were allowed to remain on the strength of the regiment until the women again married, which they soon did; for from our seventy-three widows on our return to Kurrachee, in less than a year there was not one. By this it can be seen that English women at this time, 1859, were very scarce; and when a husband dies the widow is soon married again, either to a European or native Christian. I have seen girls, soldiers' daughters, not sixteen years of age, marry Europeans, or natives, or half native and half English men. On the other hand I have seen young men, soldiers' sons, marry native girls who became Christians. All females marry very young in India. This is not con-

sidered satisfactory, for their children are not strong enough to bear the climate.

Lieutenant-Colonel G. W. P. Bingham having been promoted previous to our return to Kurrachee, now commanded the regiment; and Captain N. H. Shute, who commanded one of the companies that were besieged in Lucknow with Sir James Outram and Sir Henry Havelock, was also promoted to major with Colonel Bingham. Captain Valentine Ryan, the captain of my company, asked me to take the color and pay-sergeantship of the company, which I did, and gave up the drill-sergeantship of the regiment. There was over a year's back pay, the difference between sergeant's and color-sergeant's pay, due, and as our regiment would soon be ordered home to England, where no drill-sergeants are allowed to a regiment with extra pay, I thought it financially better for me; although the duties of a color-sergeant of a company are considerably harder, for he has to act as the sergeant-major of his company.

In the month of September, 1859, an army order from Horse Guards, London, was read to the regiment, offering four commissions as officers (ensigns) to our regiment, also granting a year's service to all who took part at the relief of Lucknow. I was one of the four chosen, but for pecuniary reasons declined the offer. I had seen that other officers, who rose from the ranks, two of them in our regiment (who were killed during the mutiny), had a hard time to support themselves in England for the want of funds. This is not so in India; but as the regiment

would soon return to England I remained as color-sergeant. As our sergeant-major was sick from a wound he had received during the mutiny, I was appointed to assist him, or as acting sergeant-major of the regiment, with extra pay of six pence per day. In fact I had to perform the whole of his duty, and continued to do so until I left the regiment in 1861 for Canada; for the sergeant-major died on our way home from India.

Between both duties, that of sergeant-major of the regiment and color-sergeant of my company, I was kept very busy and had very little time to myself; and even less after arriving in England, for I had to look after the recruits who then joined the regiment to replace men who were transferred to other regiments before we left India. Almost all the recruits that we had received in the two drafts above referred to had volunteered to remain in India, but Lieutenant-Colonel Nevile Hill Shute, then our commanding officer, would not allow them all to do so, for others, married men, wanted that privilege. In all, four hundred and twenty of the regiment were transferred to other corps remaining in India, before we left; which left the regiment considerably below strength on arriving in England. Hence the cause of the recruits joining as above stated.

Nothing further of note took place before the regiment left India for England.

In a previous chapter I mentioned how water for the men to drink was kept cool. I will now explain the wells, etc., for the information of those who never were in

India. The wells are very deep and often are from fifteen to twenty feet in diameter. The water is brought up on a wheel, constructed nearly like a paddle-wheel of a steamer, with large chatties attached to it, which dip and lift the water as they go round, and on reaching the top of the well, or as the chatties turn to again go down, the water runs into a large tank with holes in the bottom of it, to allow the water to run into drains in different directions to the soldiers' gardens which belong to the barracks; and very often it is the only water obtained, for the want of rain. Buffaloes are used for raising the water from the well by being attached to a shaft connected with the wheel, and are continually going round on the outside of the well, and are looked after by natives. The native farmers water their gardens as above described.

After matters were settled, the regiment was allowed a month's rest, during which time the usual clubs for foot-ball, cricket and hand-ball matches, and theatrical purposes, were formed, and a large number of our recruits here took part with the older soldiers, and were found to be of great assistance to us in this respect. Before long the regiment was again able to play in the garrison theatre as well as they did before the Persian campaign. I may here mention that our regiment was noted for the plays they used to handle on the stage at every military station we occupied, as well as for other games the military practised in India; also for horse-racing, in which both officers and men took part.

In March, 1861, the regiment embarked for home in

two sailing vessels, a wing in each, and after three months and seventeen days arrived in Dover, England, where the recruits for our regiment joined.

I mentioned in a previous chapter about the men bathing on our way out to India, when two of them were caught by sharks, and about the ship we were in being blown back while rounding the Cape. I now may mention that on our voyage home we called and anchored at St. Helena, an island that stood, as Bonaparte pronounced it, in the "unfathomable ocean." We remained there three days, taking fresh water and meat on board. The natives of this island surround all ships that anchor there, with all kinds of fruit, which is a great treat to all on board. They, I may say, live in the water, and are able to dive to a considerable depth. For instance, if any money is shown to them at one side of the ship, and you inform them that you will throw it into the water on the other side, they will dive under the ship, as in a race, for it, and bring the money up. The sea here is very deep and clear, and, as Napoleon Bonaparte put it, unfathomable. It is nearly so, for only on a small portion of one side of the island can anchorage be found. A number of our men, I among them, were allowed to go ashore. We went up the ladder hill, so called, and visited Bonaparte's tomb, where we had a rare view for miles over the ocean. In going up the ladder we soldiers considered it as hard as a day's march, for the hill is very steep. We brought several pieces of stones of various kinds from this island. I brought two of them to Canada, one I gave to the late

Dr. Hamilton, of St. John, New Brunswick; the other I lost at a fire in Fredericton in 1895. The island of St. Helena is seven miles wide and ten miles long, and the natives are very kind to Europeans.

Talking of Bonaparte brings to my mind a brief story I often heard my father repeat, which it may not be out of place to mention here. Previous to the battle of Waterloo (where my father was present), a young officer approached the Duke of Wellington and asked for leave for the day, stating that his father and mother had just arrived, and wished him to remain with them for a few hours. The Iron Duke, so called, looked at him, and after obtaining his name, replied, "Well, my fine young gentleman, I am glad that you honor your father and your mother, that your days may be long in the land; but as our force attacks the foe to-day you cannot have the leave, but must, like a good British soldier, face your enemy."

The regiment having arrived at Dover in July, 1861, after a voyage of over three months, commenced soldiering once more with harder work than we had in India; and as our recruits were not yet fit for all kinds of a soldier's duty, the work became harder on the older soldiers of the regiment. I now had plenty to do in the two capacities, that of color-sergeant, and sergeant-major. At the end of August my brother and I obtained a furlough for three weeks, and went to Glasgow, Scotland, to see one of our sisters who was married there. On our return to the regiment I went to the School of Musketry at Hythe, and fourteen days afterwards returned to my regiment with a

qualified first-class certificate from that school. But for the time absent in both cases I had to pay the color-sergeant the allowance, six pence per day, which was made to me as acting sergeant-major.

Regarding the course of musketry instruction at Hythe, three days after I entered the school the commandant wanted me to return to my regiment, stating that he would give me the necessary certificate, for he considered that I was well qualified for it without attending the school; but as I asked him as a favor (I wanted a rest), he granted me the privilege to remain for fourteen days. I was well up in musketry, having had to lecture on it, and instruct the regiment by companies in it for years in India. Still I considered having a Hythe certificate might be an advantage to me in the capacity I then filled.

Here I may remark that when I first commenced to instruct the St. John Engineer Company, in 1862, then commanded by Captain John E. Boyd, and afterwards by Majors Parks and Perley, the company paid great attention to the musketry lectures, etc., I used to give them. The present major, T. Hartt (as good a shot as any in New Brunswick), was a member of the company at that time. I also instructed the other companies in St. John in the same way, and could mention hundreds who derived a benefit from the musketry instructions I imparted to them. This fact is well known all over the Maritime Provinces by the past and present militia, as militia reports show.

CHAPTER XI.

In Dover.

IN October following, 1861, during the Trent affair, an army general order called for sergeants to volunteer as drill instructors for the volunteer militia in Canada. The order also stated that such sergeants would be examined in drill, discipline, military law, etc., and a step in rank would be allowed to those who should pass the examination satisfactorily. I was one who passed this examination. Major-General Garwick, then commanding at Dover, was the examining officer. The examination consisted of squad, company, and battalion drill, also manual and firing exercises practically. At the oral part of it only one candidate at a time was allowed to be present with the general and officer commanding the candidate's regiment. There were fifteen of our regiment, and seventeen of the 3rd Regiment examined, but only three of us passed, two of the 3rd Regiment, and myself. As regards my own examination, the general put all kinds of military questions to me, from a private's to a commander's duty, and many of them on skirmishing and outpost duty in front of an enemy, etc., as well as on military law. I am glad to say he failed to find one incorrect answer, and repeatedly remarked to Colonel Shute, our commanding officer, during the hour he kept me at this examination (twice as long as he kept any other), "He is well up in

the duties of a soldier and is fit to be recommended." On the following day Colonel Shute sent for me, and gave me a certificate from the general to that effect. This certificate I gave, on my arrival in Canada, to Lieutenant-Colonel T. M. Crowder, adjutant-general of New Brunswick Militia, who asked me for it to show the Honorable A. Gordon, then governor of New Brunswick; but since then have not seen it. Colonel Crowder, when I asked him about it, told me that the governor had mislaid it, and that he would obtain one from him in lieu of it. But I never got it, for Colonel Crowder resigned the adjutant-generalship and left for England soon afterwards.

Two days before I left for Canada, I was informed by our colonel that no color-sergeants were allowed to go; or, in other words, I could not go holding the rank of sergeant-major, as the order was for sergeants only. If approved, they would rank as color-sergeants; or if lance-sergeants as sergeants. I was told I could please myself in the matter. As all belonging to me—father, mother, brothers and sisters, except the sister in Glasgow and my brother in the regiment—were then in Kingston, Ontario, and as the order stated it might be only for a short time, I gave in, and came to Canada. I cannot say that I gained anything by doing so, but think I lost by it. For when discharged from Her Majesty's 64th Regiment in January, 1868, I only received pension as a color-sergeant, although at that time a sergeant-major of militia in the St. John Battalion. At that time I sent forward my claim, strongly recommended by three colonels of militia, then my commanding

officers in St. John, for the rate of pension of a sergeant-major; but the authorities at Chelsea, England, would not grant it.

During my absence on furlough, Sir James Outram, while visiting Dover, called at our orderly room, and requested Colonel Shute to send for me, stating that he wanted to see me regarding the Victoria Cross, which he considered I was entitled to receive. Colonel Shute told him that I was then on furlough. Sir James promised to call again, but did not do so before I left for Canada. On my return from furlough, Colonel Shute told me that if I had been present when Sir James called, no doubt I would have been recommended for the Victoria Cross. The day before I left the regiment for Canada, I asked Colonel Shute to recommend me for it. He replied that if Sir James again called he would speak to him on the matter. About eight months afterwards I wrote Colonel Shute regarding the Victoria Cross, and received a reply to my letter four months after from him, stating that Sir James had not since called at Dover, and that he had not forgotten the matter. I waited for a few months longer, then wrote direct to Sir James. Lady Outram returned the letter to me, with the sad news of Sir James's death, he having died a few days before the date of my writing to him.

Thus I missed the soldier's most coveted decoration. My only satisfaction is, that, in the opinion of my general, I had won it.

CHAPTER XII.

Some Testimonials.

BEFORE passing to the story of my life in Canada I wish to quote some evidence as to my character as a soldier for the twenty years I served in the regiment, by publishing the attached certificates received from the colonel, major, captain of my company, and adjutant of the regiment. During those many years, I am proud to say that I never received one day's punishment for any crime. Very few soldiers can say as much; but I was called always the steady boy, because I kept clear of all misconduct. This I ascribe to the discipline and obedience learned when at school in the 94th, which I referred to in a previous chapter narrating Her Majesty's visit to Chatham, England, in 1840. The day before I left Dover for London *en route* to Canada the following were handed to me by the adjutant of our regiment:

Dover, 18th December, 1861.

I certify that Color-Sergeant Thomas McKenzie, 64th Regiment, is about to proceed to Canada on duty. I have much pleasure in giving him an excellent character for smartness, honesty, and sobriety.

(Signed) Neville Hill Shute,
Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding 64th Regiment.

DOVER, 21st December, 1861.

Color-Sergeant McKenzie having applied to me for a character on proceeding to Canada, I beg to state that I consider him a very good pay and color-sergeant, combining good conduct with ability and efficiency, and I have no doubt he will be found useful and trustworthy.

(Signed) T. ANDERSON,
Major 64th Regiment.

DOVER, 26th December, 1861.

Color-Sergeant Thomas McKenzie has been the color-sergeant and pay-sergeant of my company for upwards of four years, and has always behaved himself with honesty and probity. He is a smart, active soldier and a good drill.

He has received a silver watch as a testimonial from Sir James Outram for his conduct in the field.

Color-Sergeant McKenzie having volunteered for active service in Canada, I give him this certificate in the hope that it may be of use to him.

(Signed) VAL. RYAN,
Captain 64th Regiment.

DOVER, 21st December, 1861.

Color-Sergeant and Acting Sergeant-Major Thomas McKenzie, 64th Regiment, being about to proceed on special service to Canada, I have great pleasure in testifying to his excellent character as a non-commissioned officer. He is a most steady, careful, and at the same time smart soldier, also an excellent drill, and will, I am sure, succeed well in any duties he may be called on to perform.

(Signed) JOHN T. PACK, Lieutenant,
Adjutant 64th Regiment.

I may here also give a copy of a few lines handed me by Lieutenant-Colonel Crowder, on his retirement from the command of the militia in New Brunswick :

ST. JOHN, N. B., 30th March, 1864.

Thomas McKenzie, Color-Sergeant 64th Regiment, has held the appointment of senior drill instructor to the volunteer militia of this province during the two last years, and on retiring from the post of adjutant-general of militia, I have the greatest pleasure in certifying to the efficiency with which he has performed his various duties.

By his good conduct, and by the firm yet pleasant manner in which he has performed the by no means easy task of instructing the volunteers, he has gained the respect of all with whom he has been brought in contact.

He has also had charge of the arms and accoutrements, and has superintended all issues of ammunition, etc., which duties he has performed in the most correct and systematic manner. (Signed)

THOMAS M. CROWDER, Lieutenant-Colonel,
Adjutant-General of Militia.

CHAPTER XIII.

Arrival in Canada.

I LEFT DOVER, and reported my arrival at Horse Guards, London, on 27th December, 1861, when eleven other sergeants, drill instructors, for New Brunswick were handed over to me, with orders to embark on board of the steamer "Calcutta," which was under orders to sail for Halifax, Nova Scotia, with a field battery of artillery, a few men of the army hospital corps, and the 96th Regiment.

I had never seen any of these sergeants until now, but before we disembarked at St. John, New Brunswick, in February, 1862, after being about forty days on board, I was well acquainted with them. We were called "the twelve apostles," by the 96th Regiment, and retained that name long after our arrival in New Brunswick.

We were wrecked, and had to call into St. John's, Newfoundland, for repairs, which took four days. During this time I went on shore, and purchased a Newfoundland dog, a brother to the one given as a present to the Prince of Wales a few months before. I paid £10 for this dog, and must say that he was well worth that amount, for he was a beautiful animal, and one of the best of that breed. When I brought the dog on board, by the sanction of the captain of the steamer, some men of the 96th Regiment set a large dog, belonging to their colonel, on him. Consequently, Colonel Cathcart ordered me to immediately

take mine on shore again. This order I, of course, obeyed. I did not see the dog again until three months after arriving in St. John, N. B., when I had to send a further sum of £3 for his keep and express charges. I kept this dog for several years, and was sorry when he died, for he was very faithful.

The steamer "Calcutta," having been repaired, sailed for Halifax, N. S., and on arriving there was ordered to St. John, N. B. We arrived safely at St. John. The troops on board at once disembarked, and took up their quarters in the railway car-shed, which was fitted up as a temporary barracks for troops that were arriving in New Brunswick during the Trent affair. When we arrived at the temporary barracks, we found a substantial dinner awaiting us, which was prepared by the citizens of St. John, as was customary at this time, and which was much appreciated by us. The extra troops now coming into Canada were not required; for the Trent matter was satisfactorily settled between the United States and England.

We (the twelve apostles so called) were sent to Fredericton, the head-quarters of the militia department of the province, and I shall never forget the two days' drive we had in sleds. It was very cold. Our resting-place for the night, about half-way between St. John and Fredericton, I must say, was not at all as it should have been; although only a barn, it was dirty and cold, and if it had not been for the fires we had to keep on during the night, no doubt we would have been found frozen in the morning. It must be remembered that this was in the month

of February, which is far from a warm month in Canada. We left this place before daylight the next morning, in our not by any means pleasant conveyance, the English sled, and arrived at Fredericton about three o'clock in the afternoon. As it was my duty to look after the other sergeants in my charge, I went to the barrack-master, Woolford, who was at the time with the barrack-sergeant, the late John Edwards, of Fredericton, issuing bedding, etc., for the troops who arrived with us, a few of the army hospital corps and engineers. On my asking him for a barrack room, bedding, etc., he refused both, stating that he did not know us, and had not received any orders about us. Of course he was correct. We required, however, a soldier's right, nothing more; therefore we helped ourselves, and took possession of a room in the barracks, which was complete with beds, etc., left by some of the troops who had set out the day before for Quebec. The next morning I found that Colonel John Robinson was the adjutant-general of militia, to whom I reported our arrival; when he and myself went to the governor, the Honorable Arthur Gordon, who was also commander-in-chief of the militia in New Brunswick. He at once gave me a note to the brigade-major of the regulars, asking that we be taken on the strength of the troops, until Parliament, which was then in session, should make provision for us. That afternoon we were in garrison orders to be attached to the engineer company; and in March we were attached to the first battalion 15th Regiment, which had arrived in Fredericton a few days before. We remained

attached to that regiment for pay, etc., until July, 1862, when nine only of the twelve were taken on as drill instructors, by the Provincial Government, and came under the regulations for pay and allowances on the 15th July, 1862, in accordance with the militia law passed in that year. Our pay then was seventy-five cents per day, and twelve dollars per month lodging allowance. Although not taken on by the Provincial Government as drill instructors until July, we instructed companies of volunteer militia, at Fredericton, then commanded by Captains E. Simonds, C. Brannan, J. McDonald, or J. L. Marsh; also a battery of artillery commanded by Captain Berton.

As regards myself, I was sent to St. John, N. B., on the 26th April, 1862, by order of the governor, Honorable A. Gordon, to take charge of the militia stores, which were the first established in St. John, the militia stores previous to this having been in charge of the Imperial store department. After I had received over the building for militia stores, which was at one end of the Custom House, over the Kinnear Brothers' establishment, I removed the arms, accoutrements, etc., etc., belonging to the militia, from the Imperial store to the then established militia store, giving the necessary receipt for the same to Major Gregg, who was in charge of the Imperial stores at St. John.

My duties now, as militia storekeeper, were to receive into store all arms, accoutrements, etc., etc., previously issued by the Imperial store department to the volunteer militia of New Brunswick. Orders had been issued to all

officers then commanding volunteer companies to return all government property in their charge to me at St. John. This order was in accordance with the new militia law passed in 1862. After I had the arms, etc., cleaned and repaired by an armourer, they were to be reissued to such companies as should re-enrol under the new law. All deficiencies had to be paid for by the captains, but the repairs were paid for by the government. These arms, accoutrements, etc., arrived in St. John, addressed to me, from all parts of the province, coming by all kinds of conveyances — American boat, railway, teams, and schooners, and all marked "charges to be collected." It took over four months before the two thousand five hundred and twenty stand of arms reached me, and I had to pay from my own funds for their transport more than one hundred dollars before they all arrived. This amount was afterwards paid back to me.* I may here say that prior to my leaving London I drew £100 from the Bank of England, which I had transferred to that bank before I left India. Had it not been for this money I could not have received the arms, etc., for they would not have been delivered to me without the transport first being paid on them; and the then adjutant-general of militia, the late Lieutenant-Colonel John Robinson, had no money at his disposal for this purpose, so he told me, until the government should sanction a militia grant. I may further say that I had no help at this work. The reader can imagine that for one man alone to get large and

* See Militia Reports of 1862–63.

heavy boxes, containing twenty rifles, bayonets, etc., also barrels large and small, up through a hatch about twelve feet high from the ground floor, is not at all easy. Sometimes I got the cartmen whom I engaged to bring the articles from the railway station, or steam-boat, or other wharf, to assist me in hoisting the boxes, etc. At other times they would not help me, even though I proffered pay, therefore I had to do it alone. There was a check rope attached, which reached to the lower flat. After I had raised a box to the height required, I kept it there by tying the check rope to the post of the stairs until I went up stairs to haul the box on to the floor. Once only an accident occurred. I had hauled up a box of rifles and tied the check rope as usual, and went up stairs to bring it on to the floor. Just as I got hold of the box the check rope broke, when both box, and I on top of it, came down to the lower flat at a very quick run. It was a miracle I was not killed. I again wish to say here, as I did during the Indian mutiny, that I think it must have been because I was in the performance of my duty that I was saved.

I mentioned in a previous page that only nine of the sergeants who came out with me were kept on as drill instructors by the Provincial Government. At present three of us reside in New Brunswick, viz., John Hewitson, who rose to command the 71st Battalion as lieutenant-colonel, but resigned that command in 1871, John L. Marsh succeeding him, and is at present living on a farm outside of Fredericton; Alexander Templeton, who rose to the rank of major in the 73rd Battalion, and now

resides in Chatham, N. B.; and myself, now care-taker, the third. Patrick McCreary was also one of us, but he died about two years ago in Kings County, N. B. He served for some years, after discharge from Her Majesty's service, in the 8th Regiment of Cavalry of that county, and lived on a farm. The remaining five returned to England, and obtained good positions, for, after being discharged from Her Majesty's service, they were employed by the Imperial Government, and often wrote me that they were doing well. The cause of their leaving Canada was, that after the formation of the Dominion in 1867, the pay of the drill instructors was stopped, and an allowance paid to the officer commanding a company or battalion. The drill instructors' services, therefore, were no longer required as such. At this time I was adjutant and drill instructor, with rank of captain, in the 62nd Battalion at St. John, N. B.

I will now continue my story. I mentioned that two thousand five hundred and twenty stand of arms, etc., were returned to me by commanders of volunteer corps in 1862. I will now give a brief abstract from the book which I then kept as to the number returned by each commander. Some returned eighty, some sixty, and the lowest forty; and as the reader may wish to keep this for reference, I will here give the names of the captains who returned rifles, etc., to me, and had then commanded companies of volunteer militia in New Brunswick. Captains Adams, Gunn, Cronk, T. Johnston, T. W. Baird, McGibbon, G. H. Pick, T. Davis, C. R. Ray, Hurd Peters, R. W.

Crookshank, J. McLachlan, Travis, J. Howard, J. Hawkes, J. Johnston, Kirkpatrick, D. B. Stevens, F. P. Robinson, Hatheway, Kilburn, J. L. Marsh, B. L. Peters, McFarline, Gilbert, A. Rankine, Hoben, J. R. Macshane, Tong, Black, Pickett, Wallace, J. Stockton, Yeamans, C. R. Brannen, Burpee, Botsford, J. A. Inches, W. E. Perley, W. A. Hiltz, D. Wetmore, Silver, Whitlock, R. Palmer, Russell, Johnston, and C. W. Stockton.

In accordance with the orders issued to the captains that they had to pay for all articles deficient, I was particular in taking a proper account of rifles, accoutrements, etc., before commencing to clean them, and adopted the following method in doing so. I entered in my book the number of the rifle and the same number of bayonet, scabbard, ramrod, muzzle-stopper, jaggs, pouches and belts, waist-belts and frogs, cap-pockets, and slings. By this means I was able to take a correct account of any one article belonging to a rifle which might be deficient. This enabled the captain to charge the same to the man it was issued to, for I reported to the captain all such numbers of deficiencies. This was extra duty for me, but it was for the benefit of the captain.

The whole of the captains had to pay for some of the small articles, such as bayonets, scabbards, muzzle-stoppers and jaggs, also a few belts; and a few captains had to pay for some rifles deficient. Although the order was for each captain to put his name and address on a label into one of their arm chests when sending them to me, more than one-half of them did not do so, and it was

months before I knew who sent them into store, or to me. There was no record kept by the Imperial store department of sending or issuing rifles, etc., to the captains by name. All issues were made to Colonel Hayne, the adjutant-general of militia, previous to 1862. The reader therefore can see that it was no easy matter for me, who had just came to the country, to find out where the rifles, etc., came from. In addition to the deficiencies, more than one-half of the rifles that came in were in a very bad state, as well as being rusty; and of the two thousand five hundred and twenty stand, three hundred and seventy-six were condemned as being not fit for reissue, when the companies were re-enrolled.

I obtained permission for the armourer-sergeant of the 15th Regiment to repair the rifles, but it took nearly two years before all were again fit for issue.

Although the companies in St. John, of which R. W. Crookshank, C. R. Ray, J. S. Hall, J. R. Macshane, and J. V. Thurgar were captains, had returned their rifles, etc., as above stated, I drilled them at night from 8 to 10 p. m., one company each night, although we drill instructors had not yet been employed as such, but were taken on as such in July following. Between the day and night work I had very little time to do my office duty; but I made time by not going to bed until after twelve midnight. After drilling for the two hours, I did all my writing, which was considerable; for my day's work had to be kept and a report of the same sent to the adjutant-general at Fredericton. This went on for years; and that

the reader may see for himself, I publish an extract from the Militia Report of 1863:

"The bulk of the volunteer force being in St. John, and the head-quarters of the militia being in Fredericton, much inconvenience has arisen from the want of some recognized medium through whom to communicate upon matters of *general* importance to the St. John Volunteers. Hitherto the correspondence between the adjutant-general's office and the volunteers in St. John has had to proceed to a great extent through the individual captains and the senior drill instructor, Color-Sergeant McKenzie, 64th Regiment, who, it is only just to mention, has been most active and useful in the issue of arms, accoutrements, and ammunition, during the whole year of 1862–63."

This Militia Report was the first made out and signed by Lieutenant-Colonel T. M. Crowder, who had been appointed adjutant-general of militia on 1st July, 1862, when Lieutenant-Colonel John Robinson left to join his regiment, Her Majesty's 44th, then stationed in England.

When I called, on the 18th February, 1862, at Colonel Robinson's office, which was then in Dr. Dow's building, on the ground now occupied by the Hon. A. F. Randolph as a wholesale establishment, to report the arrival of the drill instructor sent from England for the New Brunswick militia, he asked me if my name was McKenzie. I replied that it was. He then told me that he knew me in Dublin as field bugler to our commanding officer, then Colonel Stratton, who afterwards exchanged with Colonel James Stopford, of the 43rd Regiment, before we left for

India in 1848—the same Colonel Stopford who fell into my arms when shot at the Dutch mud fort of Reshire in Persia, in 1856, which I have described in a previous chapter. He also told me that it was then, in Richmond barracks, Dublin, that he joined the 44th Regiment, which was stationed there with our regiment, the 64th, in 1845.

The nine drill instructors were now, on the 15th July, 1862, taken on the strength of the militia staff and sent to different parts of New Brunswick; for some of the captains of the former companies had sent in their rolls, and requested the arms, etc., to be reissued to them as soon as possible. The orders I then received from the adjutant-general, Lieutenant-Colonel Crowder, were to have the arms, etc., cleaned and repaired, and to issue them to the captains in accordance with the lists he would send me, which would be, as the companies were, approved by the lieutenant-governor.

I commenced to reissue the arms, etc., etc., to the captains on the 16th July, 1862; and the first who received them was Captain G. H. Pick, No. 1 Battery of Artillery, at St. John. Sixty stand of each was received by all, except Captain B. L. Peters, who received eighty stand, and Captain E. W. Chestnut, who only received forty stand; but he did not receive his until 9th February, 1863. Up to this date the whole of the rifles, although cleaned, had not been repaired, and a number of the companies did not re-enrol, which can be seen by the list of captains to whom they were issued. From the two thousand five hundred and twenty returned into store to me only one

thousand eight hundred and twenty were reissued up to this date, and which included some new companies formed. I took care that there was a proper record of them kept, for I made out a receipt in duplicate to be signed by the captain, one to be retained by him, the other to be sent to me for transmission to the adjutant-general. These receipts showed each article in detail.

The reader may wish to know the captains of our volunteer militia at this time. I therefore give the list from my book of thirty-three captains of companies now enrolled. Previous to the Militia Act of 1862, forty-seven captains had companies. Compare both lists for the new companies now formed. I might here say that up to January, 1863, from the thirty-three companies and batteries formed under the Militia Act of 1862, fifteen belonged to St. John City and County, viz., six batteries of artillery and nine companies of infantry, including one company of engineers commanded by Captain J. E. Boyd.

I will now give the names of the thirty-three captains who had formed companies, and had received their arms, and were instructed in drill, etc., by the drill instructors who had come from England for that purpose.

Artillery—Captains G. H. Pick, Hurd Peters, B. L. Peters, J. McLachlan, M. H. Peters, and S. R. Thomson.

Infantry—Captains R. W. Crookshank, C. R. Ray, J. V. Thurgar, J. R. Macshane, J. S. Hall, H. Millett, J. Howard, E. Simonds, J. L. Marsh, T. Davis, J. Harrison, Burpee, D. B. Stevens, Kirkpatrick, W. S. Smith, T. W. Baird, C. J. Sayre, H. A. Hiltz, J. A. Inches, Sandford,

D. Wetmore, Whitlock, Knox, Babbit, Bailey, E. W. Chestnut, and J. E. Boyd, engineers.

In addition to receiving the arms, etc., etc., into store, cleaning the same, and reissuing them in 1862, I issued to the several companies seventy-seven thousand seven hundred rounds of ball ammunition, one hundred and eleven kegs, during six months, and this mostly in one, two, or three kegs only at one time, which took at least three hours each time, for the ammunition for the militia was kept in the Imperial magazine in the tower at Carleton. I also issued nearly the same quantity of blank ammunition. I paid for all cartage of such ammunition from my private funds, but it was refunded to me in a month or two afterwards, as may be seen by the Militia Reports. This was the same way each year I had charge of the militia stores, or until September, 1865, when the first superintendent of stores was appointed for New Brunswick. I could not be appointed at that time, for I still belonged to Her Majesty's service; therefore another got the position on the recommendation of the Hon. John H. Gray after the camp of instruction for twenty-eight days, to which I will again refer.

During my very limited spare time I assisted the late Colonel John V. Thurgar, Sr., Lieutenant-Colonel W. M. Jarvis, and Captain T. B. Robinson, to frame laws, rules, etc., for the Provincial Rifle Association (the present one), and my suggestions then made regarding the rules, etc., were considered by all concerned to be very good, and were adopted. I may here say that for many years I

attended all matches, as a quartermaster, looking after the sale and issue of the ammunition, as well as acting instructor to the competitors. At this time all competitors remained on the firing ground in tents, and cooked their meals in rear of the row of tents, as is now the practice in Her Majesty's service at target practice; but in these days the competitors leave the range and go where they please until the time comes for them to fire.

May I ask the reader to go back with me to the time I arrived in Fredericton, for I do think I should record in this story of my life the following occurrence.

There was in February, 1862, a lodge of Sons of Temperance called the York Division. We twelve apostles (drill instructors) agreed to go in a body and join the division. I was the one chosen to hand in our names, which I did to Mr. James S. Beek, who is still, I am glad to say, hearty. We paraded ourselves and were initiated in the usual way. It was at that time a grand thing to see twelve soldiers join a temperance division in Fredericton, and the next day both old and young had it around the city, "The twelve apostles are now temperance men." There is no doubt in my mind but the temperance soldiers are the best. While speaking of this, I may mention a few names of men who belonged to York Division at the time we joined it. Our present minister of railways, Hon. A. G. Blair, Mr. Henry Chestnut, Mr. J. S. Beek, Mr. H. C. Creed, Mr. M. S. Hall, Colonel J. L. Marsh, the present police magistrate, and Judge J. Steadman, all of Fredericton; also the late Messrs. S. W. Babbitt, George

Bliss, Alex. P. Millar, Wm. Jarvis, Andrew Blair, A. Inches, S. D. McPherson, J. Freeze, W. H. Needham, who was a noted member of this division, and many others who have left Fredericton.

During the summer months I instructed the militia officers of Lieutenant-Colonels J. V. Thurgar and T. W. Peters' battalions in drill and sword exercise for three mornings in each week, meeting at 7 o'clock and drilling until 8. The colonels, as well as the other officers, paid great attention, and liked the work, the drill ground being outside on Jeffrey's Hill, so called, or in front of both colonels' residences.

As regards the volunteer companies in those days, they had a picnic each summer for the amusement of the men, when all military sports, etc., would be carried out, which were much enjoyed by all. I introduced sports at those picnics that are, I may say, now used at every picnic.

In March, 1863, I sent a formal application to the commanding officer of my regiment, 64th, Lieutenant-Colonel N. H. Shute, for leave to marry. This application was recommended by my then militia commanding officer, Colonel Thurgar. The application was returned to me approved. My reason for sending the application to Colonel Shute was, that I did not at that time know but we drill instructors would be ordered to again join our regiments; for we were only loaned to the New Brunswick Government, and were liable at any time to be recalled to England to join our regiments. If that should occur, I should be on the strength of the regiment as a married

man, and entitled to the privileges granted as such, which makes a difference to all soldiers, no matter what their rank.

As the infantry companies re-enrolled in 1862, I instructed them in turn for five or six nights in each week. There were at that time more than seven companies. But when the other instructors were taken on, 15th July, 1862, one of them, Samuel Hughes, of the 21st Regiment, was sent to assist me in St. John in drilling the companies and batteries of artillery in infantry drill. I drilled Captains Crookshank, Ray, Thurgar, Hall, and Boyd's companies; and Drill Instructor Hughes the other companies. I also went occasionally to drill Captains B. L. Peters and M. H. Peters' batteries.

The infantry companies, except Captains Hall and Thurgar's, drilled in a large room on the upper flat of the Custom House. Captain Hall's company drilled in the Portland Temperance Hall, and Captain Thurgar's company in a hall called the Old Water Works, on the City Road near the Marsh Bridge. Captain B. L. Peters' battery drilled in Mr. Roop's sail loft on Water street, and Captain M. H. Peters' battery in a room in Carleton, which was too small for the purpose.

I am glad to place on record for the information of our present militia force, and those to follow, that the volunteer companies who formed or re-enrolled in 1862–63, in the city of St. John, far exceeded in numbers the rifles, etc., issued to them. I never had for drill less than sixty men in one company, and often as many as eighty,

although they furnished their own uniform. They were of a good class of men, and very quick in learning a soldier's duty in the ranks. I may also say that the public, not volunteers, in those days gave them assistance in many ways.

The volunteers now enrolled being equipped with arms, etc., I asked to be allowed to exchange from St. John, with one of the other instructors, on account of having to purchase plain clothes to work with in the militia store, without help or extra pay for the extra work. The other instructors had only to attend and drill a company or two for three nights per week. The lieutenant-governor would not allow the exchange, for the officers in St. John had requested Colonel Crowder not to recommend it. I then asked for leave, which was granted in this way: I was ordered by the lieutenant-governor to go to Gagetown, and get the company there, commanded by Captain Davis, ready for the governor's inspection. After this inspection I was sent to New Jerusalem, to prepare the company there; and after that company was inspected I was sent to Salmon River to prepare the company in that place. After that inspection I was ordered to Fredericton for the same purpose, as Drill Instructor Hewitson was then at Woodstock preparing the companies there for their inspection. When Colonel Crowder told me the route and duty I had to do, on the 14th July, 1863, I got married to Miss Wilson of St. John, in the Stone Church, the ceremony being performed by the Rev. Mr. Armstrong. We left St. John the following week for Gagetown.

I remained away on this duty for over three months, and while at Fredericton the late Judge L. A. Wilmot, afterwards lieutenant-governor, who was then colonel of the militia battalion to which Captains Simonds and Marsh's companies were attached, had me frequently at his house to ask questions regarding the Indian mutiny. On obtaining the information he prepared a lecture on the advance of Havelock to Cawnpore, taking in the massacre of the women and children as well as many other incidents. The citizens of Fredericton may remember this lecture, which was delivered in the old Temperance Hall in 1863. It was also given at the camp of instruction, held for twenty-eight days on the Exhibition grounds at Fredericton, in the month of July, 1865.

Previous to this the Hon. John H. Gray had obtained from me many incidents on different engagements during the mutiny, and delivered a lecture in St. John on the subject, which no doubt many people of that city will remember.

I tried my best not to be again sent back to St. John, for financially I was a loser by being stationed there. Still, of course, I complied with the order when issued and returned there on 28th of October, 1863, and took up my former duty.

During my stay at Fredericton, preparing the two companies for inspection, Colonel Thomas Anderson, who had only just arrived in Fredericton, came to the drill room in the Masonic Hall with Colonel Crowder one evening. I was instructing Captain E. Simonds' company, who were

then armed with the old flint-lock musket, commonly called Brown Bess. I had not seen them enter the hall; but when I allowed the men to stand at ease, Colonel Crowder called me, and as I approached him, Colonel Anderson came forward and shook hands with me, saying he was glad to see me. He also stated that I had not forgotten how to instruct the men in the platoon drill (firing exercise these days), with the old musket. I replied, "No, sir;" although I had not for many years back instructed or drilled with this arm, and Captain Simonds' company was the only one in New Brunswick which had them, but previous to this had not been taught in the platoon drill. Shortly after this the muskets were exchanged for rifles.

At present, 1898, there are at Fredericton a number of men who were in the ranks of this company at the time I instructed them in 1863. Among them are Majors A. F. Street, H. A. Cropley, A. Lipsett, Mr. G. Barrett, and Mr. W. Lockhard.

On my leaving Fredericton by boat for St. John, Mr. A. F. Street, who was then a sergeant in Captain Simonds' company, handed me a handsome gold pencil case, saying that it was a present from the company. I accepted it with thanks. I imagine the reason it was not presented to me the evening before, while drilling the company, was that an order had been issued some time before by the lieutenant-governor, commander-in-chief of our militia, that no presents were allowed to be given to the instructors.

The Colonel Anderson above referred to formerly be-

longed to the 78th Highlanders, and while our own was absent on leave in England, acted as interpreter of the Indian language to our regiment. Hence the cause of his knowing me in Canada. He afterwards was appointed adjutant-general of New Brunswick militia, on Colonel Crowder's resigning that position and returning to England.

On my return to St. John to resume charge of the militia stores, I found that, during my absence for the three months, Sergeant Hughes, of the 21st Regiment, one of the drill instructors whom I had left in charge of the stores, had issued arms, etc., to two new companies. Orders from the adjutant-general awaited me to issue sixty stand of arms and accoutrements each to three other companies. I also received orders to take into store the arms, etc., which I had previously issued for the Salmon River company. The reason of this was, that when I went there to prepare the company for the annual inspection, I found only about ten men, who had joined as a volunteer company. This fact, as my duty called for, I reported to the adjutant-general; and when the lieutenant-governor and the adjutant-general a few days afterwards came to inspect the company, they found my report to be correct, and at once ordered the captain to return the government property to the militia stores at St. John, and that company was struck off the list of volunteer companies. The New Jerusalem company, a short time afterwards, was also struck off the strength for the same reason.

I might here explain, for the reader's information, that the government allowed each volunteer company efficient

in number only, the sum of eighty dollars per year for drill room and care of arms, where the same was not furnished by government; or in other words, forty dollars for a room and forty dollars for arms. Therefore if the government furnished a drill room, as in St. John, only forty dollars was paid the captain.

As regards the efficiency of each company, and the number of men attending each drill during the year, the drill instructor kept a detailed account on a form furnished from head-quarters. At the end of each month this form was signed by the instructor as correct and forwarded to the adjutant-general. There was also a form as to the state of the arms, signed by both captain and instructor, which accompanied it. By these returns the captains were paid their contingent allowance.

I referred in another page to my attending meetings with Colonels Thurgar and Jarvis, and Captain Robinson, for the purpose of framing rules and regulations for the Provincial Rifle Association. I now wish to say that at any time the companies in St. John went to target practice I accompanied them, and instructed in the same. And as I previously informed the reader that I attended for a number of years the Provincial matches in the capacity of a quartermaster, may I here say that in those days I used to compete, and held my own, although not the best shot; but I was satisfied with the prizes I obtained. At one of these matches, held on Lieutenant-Colonel E. B. Beer's grounds at Sussex, a match was got up between Her Majesty's 15th Regiment, which was then stationed in St.

John, and the volunteers. I was one of the twenty volunteers chosen, but had Musketry Instructor Sergeant Higgins of the 15th against me, as well as other good shots of that regiment. Still the volunteer militia team came out ahead, but nothing to brag about, for in the three ranges there were only five points of a difference, and they were only gained at the last range of six hundred yards' distance. So it can be seen that the match was a close one. Many of such matches were held from time to time, which caused a good feeling between the regulars and the volunteer militia corps.

Previous to my return to St. John in October, 1863, the following companies, which were formerly attached to the city and county militia battalions, were formed into a battalion under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Hon. John Robertson, to be called the Saint John Volunteer Battalion:

No. 1 company, Captain R. W. Crookshank commanding.
" 2 " " C. R. Ray "
" 3 " " J. V. Thurgar, Jr., "
" 4 " " J. S. Hall "
" 5 " " H. Millett "
" 6 " " J. R. Macshane "

On my return I was appointed to act as sergeant-major of the battalion, as well as instructor to it. This duty I performed as well as that of militia storekeeper, and had a battalion drill generally one evening per week, during the summer time, on the Barrack Square. Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Anderson, late of 78th Highlanders, acted as

major, and Captain Crookshank as adjutant. The following year Colonel Anderson was appointed adjutant-general, Captain Crookshank as major of the battalion, and Captain Ray as adjutant.

Both Colonels Robertson and Anderson offered prizes to the non-commissioned officers and privates of the battalion for the best answers in drill, etc., as to their different duties. To prepare them for this, I gave lectures to the companies. After the examination took place, both colonels told me that they were well satisfied with the answers given by all ranks; and I must say some of them were very good. Of course, some of the non-commissioned officers had received private lessons from me. Still, on the whole, they were very good. It was particularly creditable to hear a young volunteer, not six months in the force, answer without a mistake, and describe how to present arms or load a rifle, as well as how orders were to be obeyed. Such subjects I lectured on, and for years afterwards kept up the same lectures in club rooms formed for the purpose, as well as at drill and privately. I always found the men willing to learn a soldier's duty, as well as the officers.

This year, 1864, the annual Provincial rifle matches were held at Torryburn. On the close of the competition, the regulars, both artillery and infantry, as well as the volunteer artillery and infantry, came from St. John, and Captain Simonds' company from Fredericton. In all, about fifteen hundred troops were under arms; when a grand review was held under command of Colonel Cole,

of the 15th Regiment. Lieutenant-Governor Gordon was present, with Governor Dundas and their respective staffs, at this review and sham-fight, and over three thousand spectators were on the ground. Both governors considered the day's work very good, and expressed themselves in that way when presenting the prizes to the successful competitors. This meeting was about the best I ever attended in New Brunswick; and it was talked over many times after at the other rifle matches.

Major Crookshank was at this time appointed lieutenant-colonel to command the 62nd Battalion, with Captain Ray as major and Captain Thurgar as adjutant. Captain F. P. Robinson and Lieutenant F. T. C. Burpee had been previously appointed to command Major Crookshank and Ray's companies respectively, and now Lieutenant W. H. Scovil was promoted captain to command Captain Thurgar's company.

Nothing further than attending to my duties as drill instructor, and the issue of arms, ammunition, etc., occurred during the year 1864. But as the Provincial Government had amended the militia law in 1865, allowing camp of instruction to be held for the militia for a period of twenty-eight days, the first camp was ordered to assemble in July, 1865. Consequently I was in June ordered to go to Fredericton, where the camp was to be held, to prepare berths in the Exhibition building for the men, and make contracts for supplying the camp with rations, as well as getting cooks, sinking wells, etc., which would be required for the camp. I brought with me the blankets

and other bedding, as well as marquees, tents, etc., from the Imperial store department, and sufficient rifles and waist-belts from the militia store.

The contractors were: For groceries and bread, Mr. George Hatt; for meat, Mr. H. Torrance; and as master cook, Mr. Baxter, who was to furnish what help he required for cooking. I acted in the capacity of quartermaster at the camp.

On the 5th July the men arrived from all parts of the province, when a hot dinner was given them, and to each captain a place for his company. It took nearly all day and night before all the companies had arrived. The next day was occupied in preparing the ground and such like fatigue duty. The following day soldiering commenced, and every day after improvements could be seen. All the instructors attended this camp with a few of the 15th Regiment as such. Some officers were able to instruct more or less, but when I issued out the rifles the whole of the instructors had plenty to do. I, of course, when my duty as quartermaster did not require me, instructed the same as the other drill instructors did.

Captain Hallows, of Her Majesty's 15th Regiment, acted as commandant of the camp, with Captain Willis, late of the same corps, as brigade-major, and Captain Moody, aide-de-camp to the lieutenant-governor, as quartermaster-general. Lieutenant-Colonel L. A. Wilmot commanded the first battalion, and Lieutenant-Colonel T. W. Baird the second battalion. There were over nine hundred men in both battalions, and each battalion was

divided into seven companies. It is not necessary for me here to give a full detail of the different officers who attended this camp, or even to give an account of the different days' work done; but when General Doyle, the commander of the troops, as well as our lieutenant-governor, the Hon. A. H. Gordon, inspected the brigade, they gave great praise to all for the efficient manner in which the duties of a soldier had been learned. The late Lieutenant-Colonel Otty, who acted as major in the first battalion, received praise for his word of command; and I must say that the staff officers of both battalions, viz., the late Colonels Wilmot, Baird, Otty, and Raymond, and Majors Simonds, Wetmore, and Hurd Peters, performed their respective duties before the end of the camp as well as any such officers of the regulars could do; having given their best attention to learn them during the camp.

The camp now being broken up, I remained in Fredericton until I got the Exhibition building into the same condition in which it was before the camp, and handed over to the proper authorities. I sent off the blankets, etc., to St. John, and returned by boat six days after the camp broke up to resume my duties in St. John. After my return there I was asked hundreds of questions about the Indian mutiny, for the militia in St. John who had attended the camp told on their return to that city how Colonel (the late judge) Wilmot frequently mentioned my name in the lecture he delivered in the Exhibition building during the camp, which, as I mentioned before, was

on Havelock's advance on Cawnpore and Lucknow, as well as touching on the massacre of the women and children by Nana Sahib at Cawnpore, about which I had told him.

I am sorry to say that our then adjutant-general of militia, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Anderson, although he had strongly recommended to the Provincial Government and the commander-in-chief, Governor Gordon, that such camps of instruction be held, was unable to attend this camp, and resigned the position of adjutant-general, when our present district officer commanding, Lieutenant-Colonel George J. Maunsell, succeeded him as adjutant-general, and up to this date, 1898, holds that position, though it is now called district officer commanding Military District No. 8. Colonel Maunsell has commanded the militia in New Brunswick, or District No. 8, ever since November, 1865; except for three years, when he was called to Ottawa, the head-quarters of the militia, to take command of No. 4 District. After that period he returned to New Brunswick to take charge, as commandant, of the School of Military Instruction, or permanent force, which was established for infantry in January, 1884.

I mentioned in a previous page that superintendents of militia stores had been appointed. There were two; one for St. John, the other for Fredericton. Both appointments were the first ever made in New Brunswick, and bear date September, 1865. The amendments to the Provincial militia law of that year authorized the government to create such positions. Lieutenant-Colonel John

Hewitson, late commanding 71st Battalion, who was one of the twelve instructors, but had taken his discharge from Her Majesty's 2nd Regiment, received the appointment at Fredericton; and Major John Evans, who was formerly adjutant of Her Majesty's 38th Regiment, received the appointment at St. John. I myself was appointed assistant storekeeper, with extra pay of forty cents per day. I was, at this time, not eligible for the position, as I still belonged to Her Majesty's service. The colonel, Hon. John H. Gray, therefore recommended Captain Evans, who was at that time commanding one of the companies in Colonel Gray's battalion of militia.

Both Colonel Gray and the adjutant-general told me afterwards that the commander-in-chief, Lieutenant-Governor Hon. A. H. Gordon, and other members of the council were sorry I had not left Her Majesty's service, so as to receive the appointment; for they considered that as I had filled the office for so many years to their satisfaction, and was the first to establish a militia store in New Brunswick, I was justly entitled to the position, and under the circumstances increased my pay as above stated.

The reader will please remember that my period for full pension did not expire until November, 1867, consequently I waited until then before asking for my discharge from Her Majesty's service.

In compliance with orders from the adjutant-general, I handed over the stores to Major Evans in November, 1865, as he reported, in the best of order, and remained with him as his assistant, as well as performing my other duties as drill instructor in St. John.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Fenian Scare of 1866.

I WAS present with the 62nd Battalion, in the capacity of sergeant-major of the battalion, when called out by the government, in March, 1866, on account of the Fenian scare. The battalion paraded in full strength. The following is a list of the officers who attended the call with their companies:

Staff—Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. Otty, commanding.

Captain D. Wilson, Acting Major.

" J. V. Thurgar, Adjutant.

" F. P. Robinson, Quartermaster.

" H. Millett, Paymaster.

S. Z. Earle, M. D., Surgeon.

J. L. Taylor, M. D., Assistant Surgeon.

Captains—T. Sullivan, H. Cummins, W. H. Scovil, J. S. Hall, C. Campbell, and J. R. Macshane.

Lieutenants—W. S. Berton, W. S. Harding, A. W. Peters, T. J. O. Earle, and J. B. Wilmot.

The battalion attended each day for drill, and in a very short time were ready to take their place with any corps of regulars, in case of need, against Fenians or any other force which might invade their country, as the general officers who inspected the battalion stated. By orders issued, the battalion, as well as the artillery batteries of St. John, had to guard magazines, banks, and such public buildings, for many reports stated that the Fenians were

approaching St. John by different routes. It was, therefore, considered better to be prepared for any such attack, than that they should be found, to use a military term, asleep on their post.

Although the city of St. John had to be watched by the volunteers, there was also in the city Her Majesty's 15th Regiment. As the frontier, Charlotte County, had to be seen to, and watched, the battalion was ordered to St. Andrews, to relieve a detachment of the 17th Regiment from Halifax. Captain E. Simonds, with his company from Fredericton, was also in St. Andrews. On arrival of the 62nd Battalion, both the 17th Regiment and the Fredericton company returned to their respective quarters.

During our stay at St. Andrews we had Captain Osburn's battery of artillery and Captain Stevenson's company of infantry attached. Colonel Otty commanded the whole force at St. Andrews. The corps now went into barracks, and had to perform the regular duty of soldiers, both in drill and otherwise. Captain Hall was sent with his company to Campobello, and remained there with Captain Bryan's company of Charlotte County Militia; and Lieutenant Wilmot was stationed at Indian Island.

There were several other companies close at hand, in case of need; for the companies in St. Stephen, St. George and Milltown were called out previous to the 62nd going to St. Andrews.

I should like to say a kind word regarding the citizens of St. Andrews as to the manner in which they treated the whole battalion during our short stay there. They could

not do enough for us; and often entertained individual men of the companies, as well as the whole body; and often afterwards did I hear men of the battalion refer to their kindness.

I do not forget the night the "Cordelia" beat to quarters, in May, a few days before we left St. Andrews for St. John. I had kept my bed in the guard room, so as to be on hand in case of a turn-out during the night. On the night in question, about 12 midnight, on the first gun being fired, I took the bugle, which I always kept close to me, and immediately sounded the "assemble." Before five minutes every man of the force in the barracks was ready and fit for action. We marched off to our head-quarters' post, where Colonel Anderson with the staff of the battalion was already assembled. Many reports were now raised, while the man-of-war was firing off her guns, and it was difficult to keep the men from loading their rifles after Colonel Anderson gave the order to loose the packages of ammunition. While the battalion was forming ready for attack, the artillery under Captain Osburn was not idle, for they had already attacked and fired at an imaginary enemy; but luckily no harm was done. After about one hour's waiting, Colonel Anderson ordered the force to return to their quarters, when everything was again quiet; except such women and children as kept up their fears until well into the day following.

All the officers, no matter how old, about St. Andrews, were prepared to take part in the defence of their homes, and of the Province of New Brunswick; for it must be

remembered that Charlotte County is on the frontier of the province.

Woodstock was in about the same condition; and the volunteer force was called out under command of the late Colonel Baird. The following are the captains who then commanded companies:

Captains G. Strickland, J. Kilburn, J. Y. Hoyt, R. Ketchum, C. Burpee, A. Lindsay, H. Emery, G. E. Boyer, G. E. Shea, and G. S. Baird. These companies were drilled and prepared to meet any attacking force approaching New Brunswick via Carleton County; and received credit and praise for the way they paid attention to their duty as soldiers. The daily papers at the time gave full account of the praise bestowed on them by their inspecting officers, including Hon. A. H. Gordon, governor of New Brunswick.

During the period when the 62nd Battalion was called out for protection against the Fenians, I was presented with a sword and belt by the officers of the battalion. Major-General Doyle made the presentation with a few appropriate remarks. He also at this parade presented me with the medal from Her Majesty for long service and good conduct. Seeing the medals on my breast for Persia and the Indian mutiny, he remarked that I had fought for my country, and had on my breast medals that would be considered valuable by any military man. The whole force called out, both artillery and infantry, on this occasion attended the parade.

After the night attack, as the citizens of St. Andrews

called it, when Her Majesty's ship "Cordelia" beat to quarters, matters became quiet, and not a word about Fenians could be heard. Consequently, the battalion was ordered to return to St. John. On this information being made public, Mr. Clinch of St. Andrews invited the whole force, artillery and infantry, to a dinner he had prepared; and, I must say, that the tables were well filled with all kinds of eatables, and ample justice was done to the same by the force. By the speeches made after dinner, I am sure that all were well pleased, and appreciated Mr. Clinch's kindness very much.

The citizens of St. Andrews presented an address to the 62nd Battalion before we left for St. John. This address referred to the good conduct of the corps during their stay in St. Andrews, as well as to their quick turn-out at midnight to face the enemy, which it was supposed they would have to do when Her Majesty's ship "Cordelia" beat to quarters. Colonel Anderson, who commanded the troops on the frontier, also thanked the force for the good conduct, as well as for the soldier-like promptitude with which they turned out after midnight under the impression that they were going into action.

In accordance with the orders issued, the 62nd Battalion returned to St. John, arriving there on June 1st, 1866. They remained on service until the 20th. During this time the battalion was inspected by the following on different dates: On June 3rd, by the lieutenant-governor and Colonel Cole; on the 5th, by General Sir W. F. Williams of Kars; and on the 11th, by Colonel Harding, command-

ing 22nd Regiment. At each of these inspections the battalion was highly praised by the inspecting officers for their appearance and qualifications as soldiers; and such remarks were made as are usual by an inspecting officer when addressing a corps which he finds efficient in all its duties.

Before our battalion, 62nd, was relieved from service, the citizens of St. John invited us to the Rink to partake of a dinner. I can assure you, dear reader, that we soldiers did justice to the same; and appreciated the kindness of the citizens, of whom many thousands were present, as well as the band of the 15th Regiment, who furnished the music. Mr. R. Reed also invited us to a lunch at his residence, Mount Pleasant; and after satisfying the inner man we had great pleasure in viewing his splendid grounds, etc., accompanied by a number of ladies who were present.

During this Fenian scare Her Majesty's 22nd Regiment arrived in New Brunswick. Previous to their landing, I accompanied Colonel Otty and Adjutant Thurgar on board the troop ship; and obtained leave from the officer commanding that regiment, Colonel Harding, for the sergeants of his regiment to be allowed to come on shore to a dinner we sergeants of the 62nd had prepared for them, in Stubbs' Hotel, Prince William street. The colonel sanctioned the privilege. In this case both regulars and volunteers, I am sure, enjoyed themselves; and the sergeants of the 22nd returned on board in good order, and well pleased with their visit ashore. I may here say that Color-Sergeant W. A. Daniel, of our present Military

School at Fredericton, was one of the 22nd sergeants above referred to.

I have previously stated that the 62nd remained on service until 20th June. In the orders issued by his excellency the lieutenant-governor, relieving us from further duty, on this date, he expressed himself as well pleased with the efficient manner in which the duties had been discharged by the corps during their three months on active service. Although no longer on active service, the battalion continued the usual drills in the evenings; and many applications were made by men to be taken on the strength of the companies.

After this I resumed my usual duties as drill instructor, and each night at drill many good words were spoken about the people of St. Andrews, Campobello, and Indian Island, as well as the kindness of Mr. Reed and of the citizens of St. John generally. It is pleasant to note that after this Fenian scare the volunteers were more thought of than they had been before during my time. Amongst other evidences of this, a set of colors was furnished our battalion, 62nd, by the ladies of St. John, and many persons were in attendance when the colors were presented.

CHAPTER XV.

Along the Border.

I AM pleased to present my readers with the following accounts of the border militia, which have been written for me by my friends, Captain John McMullen of St. Stephen, Captain Polleys of St. Andrews, and Mr. Ludgate of St. George, and which, I am sure, will prove of interest, as giving not only some interesting details of military life, but also showing how the Fenian emergency was met by the "Border" men.

[By Captain John McMullen, St. Stephen.]

During the Fenian threats in 1866, there was a very respectable force assembled along the border in Charlotte County, quite sufficient to have hurled back any force the Fenian element was able to assemble. From Upper Mills to St. Andrews was practically a skirmish line, as our own militia were in many cases in actual touch and sight of men at drill, with the intention, openly avowed, of crossing wherever they thought the best chances of success were. No. 1 Company at St. Stephen was the first called out for active service, and was under the command of Captain T. J. Smith, with Lieutenant M. McGowan and Ensign J. P. Bixby. They numbered about one hundred of all ranks, and were considered the "crack" company of the upper part of the county. They had had the services of an instructor from the Imperial forces since 1862, and were in excellent condition when called upon. This company was first organized under

Captain James A. Inches in 1862, and were presented by the ladies of St. Stephen with a very handsome silk flag, which is now in possession of his son, Walter Inches. On the breaking out of the Fenian troubles, Captain Inches was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and given command of the frontier force in St. Stephen, Milltown and Upper Mills, with Major Andrew McAdam second in command. At the same time a second company was raised in St. Stephen, with Captain Henry Hutton in command, and Lieutenant S. Robinson and Ensign Ed. Hill. Both companies had the services of an instructor from the "regulars" (Sergeant Thomas Quinn), and with the advantage of two companies drilling together they were soon able to feel that St. Stephen was safe from a successful attack, unless from a much larger force than was expected could be concentrated at Calais.

After the Fenian troubles had subsided, Captain Smith resigned, and as one company was considered sufficient at the time for St. Stephen, Captain Hutton retained command of his company until his death in July, 1875.

The company was reorganized in March, 1879, with John Stewart, captain, John McMullen, first lieutenant, and Robert Stevenson, second lieutenant. This being the only effective company in the county, under the new militia regulalations they were given the alternative of disbanding or joining the 67th Carleton County Battalion, or 71st York County. The company unanimously decided to join the 71st, then under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Marsh. Captain Stewart's duties as railroad superintendent requiring all his time, his military duties were performed by Lieutenant McMullen until Captain Stewart retired in October, 1882, when Lieutenant McMullen was appointed captain, with First Lieutenant

Robert Stevenson and Second Lieutenant John McMurray. Subsequently Lieutenant McMurray left the limits, and Sergeant Harry W. Broad was appointed second lieutenant. In 1886, through the kindness of the citizens of St. Stephen, the company was furnished with a complete set of helmets, and gold lace chevrons for the non-commissioned officers. As a return for many favors accorded the company by the Citizens' Band of St. Stephen, the company gave an "exhibition drill," under the command of Captain McMullen, and a concert by the band, under the leadership of Sergeant George Ryder, which was largely patronized by the citizens of Calais and St. Stephen. The proceeds were handed to the band, and furnished a set of plumes for their head-dress, and a sum for the band fund. This company had a large percentage of good shots, and sent a contingent annually to the Provincial and Dominion matches. Sergeant Miner, in 1885 and 1887, secured a place on the Wimbledon team, and won several prizes in England; the company being the only one in Charlotte County that furnished a representative to Wimbledon. Sergeant Miner originally joined Captain Murchie's company in 1866, and has remained an active member of the militia to the present time. He has been winner of the Prince of Wales' cup, and governor-general's medals; indeed, his shooting trophies occupy quite a space in his home.

In November, 1888, Captain McMullen retired, and was succeeded by Lieutenant Robert Stevenson, with First Lieutenant George Ryder and Second Lieutenant Harry Stevenson (Lieutenant Broad having retired). The efficiency of the company was maintained under Captain Stevenson, until his retirement in 1890, when Captain John D. Chipman* was

* Now M. P. P. for Charlotte County.

given command, with Lieutenants Ryder and Stevenson. Captain Chipman still retains command of the company, and their efficiency in drill and shooting is attested by the very high place they take at the semi-annual camps of instruction. They maintain a "shooting club," composed of members of the company, and have a "monthly shoot" for a cup, and other prizes, with a similar club belonging to Company K, Maine Volunteers, and one from Milltown, Maine. As an instance of the friendly relations that exist between the two companies on either side of the line, it may be mentioned that Company K, under command of Captain (now lieutenant-colonel) Ernest T. Lee, with Lieutenant (now captain) Thomas McCullough and Lieutenant L. R. Adams, by permission from Ottawa and Washington, on the celebration of Her Majesty's Jubilee, June 24th, 1897, crossed the bridge fully armed into St. Stephen, were received by Captain Chipman's company with a salute, and accompanied by the men of the Dominion cruiser "Curlew," under command of Captain Pratt, marched through St. Stephen, Milltown, and Calais, Me.; and returning at noon each company, under command of its own captain, fired a *feu de joie*, and at the same time a salute of twenty-one guns was fired by John Ryder, Ed. Vroom, A. Cameron, and Robt. Hewett, and timed by Captain McMullen. This is the first time since 1812 that either country has invaded the other as an armed body. What a contrast! In 1812 each met the other with a "present," but it meant death and hatred. In 1897 they met each other with a "present," but it meant respect and welcome; yet no two countries are more loyal to their flag and traditions. Miss Constance, daughter of Captain Chipman, presented each member of Company K with a Jubilee

medal as a souvenir of their visit, and Captain Chipman presented each officer, non-commissioned officer, and man of his company with a similar medal.

No. 3 Company was organized early in 1866 at Milltown, under the command of Captain W. A. Murchie, with Lieutenant John McAdam, Jr., and Ensign Henry A. Berry. This company was the closest to the border of any in the county at the time of the Fenian scare, as in many instances the lines between the United States and Canada touch for a considerable distance. The company had the services of an instructor from the regular army, Sergeant McMullen; and as a fighting force, were "second to none." For practice in a night attack, without notice, they have been half in skirmishing order and firing, with half in reserve, in less than ten minutes from the "alarm" being sounded. The sentries had to furnish one or two "nasty" posts, owing to the proximity to the line; notably one at a covered bridge, perfectly dark, the longest end being in United States territory. The officers, fully alive to the danger of any looseness at this post, when visiting the sentries at night, accompanied by the corporal of the guard, would sometimes slip around to the American side and approach the sentry from that point to test his alertness; and generally before the challenge "Who goes there?" would be heard the ominous "click," as the rifle was placed at "full cock." If the reply to the challenge did not come quick, the answer would be "Stand, or I'll fire." Occasionally a Fenian in semi-uniform, green stripe, military cap and "sunburst," would stroll over the bridge, and down the main street, and have a look at the "lobster backs," as they called the volunteers. They were not molested except by some one's remark, "Glad to see you;" "When are you

coming?" "Come over and bring your friends," etc. The barrack of our company was set on fire one night, and to prevent an armed crowd coming over with the United States fire company, who hastened to aid in extinguishing the fire, the company stood half at the bridge head and half in reserve, bayonets fixed, and at the word "Ready," loaded; while the Fenians, at the further side, declined to attempt the crossing, and contented themselves with throwing hard names at the "lobster backs."

Major-General Hastings Doyle inspected the company in the summer of 1866, while out on service, and complimented them highly on their drill, discipline, and appearance. A detachment of four companies of Her Majesty's 17th Regiment was for a short time stationed in barracks between St. Stephen and Milltown; and with the companies from St. Stephen and Milltown, were drilled as a battalion by the officer commanding, and his remarks, when dismissing the battalion were, "Men, you drill as steady as my regulars."

Milltown also furnished a "home guard" of about sixty under command of Captain Robert Pool, a splendid specimen of a Scotchman. They drilled nightly in a large hall, and had in the ranks many of the wealthy men of Milltown, who at much personal inconvenience, submitted to military discipline, and learned the rudiments of military knowledge, in order to repel the would-be invaders of their homes.

Early in May, 1866, as the Fenians over the line seemed to be increasing in numbers, it was thought necessary that a force should be organized at Upper Mills, about four miles above St. Stephen. A company was raised under command of Captain Rex. M. King, with Lieutenant D. U. Porter and Ensign E. B. Simpson, and would have given a good account

of themselves if attacked. They could handle pick-pole, or peavy, and felt at home with a fixed bayonet and rifle. "Careless in their talk" but mighty "awkward in a row," they had the occasional services of Sergeant McMullen at drill. They were very close to the border, and for a few months of the summer expected an attack nightly, but were always "ready, aye ready."

When the need for their services ceased, this and the Mill-town company were relieved from duty, and permitted to return to their usual avocations. The force were thanked in general orders by Colonel Inches for their exemplary conduct under very trying circumstances.

[By Captain E. S. Polleys, St. Andrews.]

The St. Andrews Volunteer Rifle Company was organized July, 1861, with the following officers: Captain J. H. Whitlock, Lieutenants O. Jones and I. Smith. Subsequently, the late Hon. B. R. Stevenson was elected lieutenant *vice* Smith.

In January, 1862, the company received arms and accoutrements from St. John, New Brunswick.

Another company was organized in St. Andrews, with the following officers: Captain T. J. Sanford, Lieutenants J. Lockny and T. McVey. These two companies combined in celebrating Her Majesty's birthday, May 24, 1864.

The "Gordon" Rifles was organized July, 1865, with the following officers: Captain E. Pheasant, Lieutenants B. R. Stevenson and E. S. Polleys. In January, 1866, the company was addressed by Lieutenant-Colonel Otty, D. A. G., and immediately commenced drill under Sergeant Thomas Quinn, of Her Majesty's 21st Regiment, as drill instructor.

A battery of artillery was organized January 15, 1866,

with the following officers: Captain H. Osburn, Lieutenants T. T. Odell, N. T. Greathead and W. B. Morris. This battery was on duty during the Fenian scare, from March to June, 1866, at St. Andrews. On the retirement of Captain Osburn in 1868, Captain Polleys succeeded him, with Lieutenants William Whitlock and Stoop.

[By Mr. Ludgate, St. George.]

The first volunteer company in the province was organized at St. George, N. B., in January, 1860, with the following officers: Captain D. Wetmore, Lieutenants J. Campbell, E. P. Knight and D. J. Wetmore. They received arms and accoutrements the following month from the government, but the uniform was furnished by the men.

In August, 1860, the government paid their expenses to St. John on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales to this province, the journey being made by stage, and after a very jolly ride of forty-five miles they landed at a hotel on King Square. While going through Portland the battery honored them by firing a salute. The next morning, headed by the St. Stephen band, they marched to the Barrack Green to the tune of "The British Grenadiers." On the arrival of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the right half company, under command of Captain Wetmore, were selected as a guard of honor, and placed on the extreme end of Reed's Point wharf. The left half company, under command of Lieutenant Campbell, was stationed at the head of the wharf. As His Royal Highness landed he saluted them.

During the summer of 1861 this company invited the St. Andrews and St. Stephen volunteer companies to a dinner.

They were all in uniform. It was a gala day for the town, the citizens participating in the good time. During the Fenian scare, 1866, this company was under arms. The officers at this time were as follows: Lieutenant-Colonel D. Wetmore, Captain J. Bolton, and Lieutenants M. Hall and A. Campbell. The other companies here on duty at that time were commanded by Captains J. Bogue and J. O'Brien, Lieutenants P. Brawley, W. S. Clinch, J. Murray, and J. Milliken.

On Sunday morning, 15th April, 1866, while the men were at church a telegram was received stating that Indian Island was taken. All were served with an additional amount of ammunition and marched to the new block-house on top of Carleton Hill, where the day was spent preparing for an attack, the townspeople assisting in the work. The greatest excitement prevailed for a day or two. A short time after Her Majesty's ship "Cordelia," while in St. Andrews harbor, turned her crew out at midnight for drill. The guns were fired, and there being a fair wind, the reports could be distinctly heard at St. George. There was a terrible commotion for a time, women and children being on the streets in their night clothes. The militia were called out, for there was too much work for the volunteers, who were armed with the old *flint* musket, and carried sixty rounds of Enfield cartridges. After doing duty for two days, they discovered that they had no flints, pieces of *hardwood* having been inserted instead.

CHAPTER XVI.

Discharge from Her Majesty's Army.

I WAS again called on to attend the camp of instruction held at Torryburn, seven miles from St. John, New Brunswick, in July, 1866. At this camp I performed the duties of quartermaster, as I had done the previous year at the camp held at Fredericton. Two battalions were formed; one of them all officers, the other as a regular battalion, having only the proper proportion of officers. Colonel Otty commanded the officers' battalion, and Colonel Inches, of St. Stephen, commanded the other. Colonel Maunsell, adjutant-general of militia, commanded the whole.

The usual work was carried out by all ranks at this camp; and when inspected, they were considered by Colonel Harding, as well as by the inspecting officer, to be able to face Fenians or any one else. After the sham fight which was held, both these officers stated that the men in camp were fit to take part with any corps of Her Majesty's service in front of an enemy; and praise was bestowed both on officers commanding battalions, and on all ranks. All the force, both regulars and volunteers, artillery and infantry, of St. John, took part in this sham fight. Many citizens were present, who spoke highly of it. Any commander in front of an enemy is of little use without a force of drilled and disciplined men at his call.

After I returned from the camp of instruction at Torryburn, I resumed my duties in the militia store, as well as that of drill instructor to the 62nd Battalion, for the remainder of that year, without any unusual events happening. In the following year, as my period of service in Her Majesty's 64th Regiment had expired, I made application to my regiment for my discharge from that corps; at the same time submitting an application for the meritorious medal, with the annuity attached to it. For this I obtained recommendations from the officers of the New Brunswick militia who were then my commanding officers, viz., Colonels Otty, Crookshank, and Thurgar, Sr. These officers strongly recommended that the medal be granted to me, and I herewith record their recommendations, which are as follows:

SAINT JOHN, NEW BRUNSWICK,
16th December, 1867.

SIR—I have the honor to recommend for your consideration the claims (request) of Color-Sergeant Thomas McKenzie, who is about being discharged from Her Majesty's service, to (for) a silver medal and annuity.

Color-Sergeant McKenzie has for the last six years been employed as a drill instructor to the volunteer and militia forces of this province, during which time he has invariably performed his duty faithfully and with credit to himself.

I have also to bring under your consideration, that when the Saint John Volunteer Battalion, which I have the honor to command, was called into active service to repel a threatened attack of the Fenians upon our frontier, he served as

sergeant-major of the battalion, and always performed his duty in a most exemplary manner to my entire satisfaction.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) ANDREW C. OTTY, Lt.-Colonel,
Commanding St. John Volunteer Battalion,
and D. A. G., N. B. Militia.

The Officer commanding H. M. 64th Regiment.

P. S.—Color-Sergeant McKenzie is already in possession of a medal for long service and good conduct.

A. C. O., Lt.-Col.,
D. A. G. Militia.

ST. JOHN, N. B., December 14, 1867.

SIR—Color-Sergeant Thomas McKenzie being desirous of obtaining his discharge from Her Majesty's service, I beg to recommend him to your favorable consideration for the silver medal and annuity. He is already in possession of the medal for long service and good conduct.

I have been connected with the volunteer movement in this province for a number of years, and during that time he has been the drill instructor of the volunteer battalion, and in that capacity faithfully performed his duty, with credit to himself and to the regiment to which he is attached.

By his assiduous attention to his duties he has won the respect of all the officers of the volunteer force, and is deserving of the fullest consideration that can be granted.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) R. W. CROOKSHANK, Colonel,
Late commanding St. John Volunteer Battalion.

The Officer commanding H. M. 64th Regiment.

ST. JOHN, N. B., 16th December, 1867.

SIR—I have the honor to recommend to your favorable consideration the request of Color-Sergeant Thomas McKenzie, and sergeant-major St. John Volunteer Battalion, who, I am informed, is about receiving his discharge from Her Majesty's service, for the silver medal and annuity.

Color-Sergeant McKenzie has, for the last six years, been employed as drill instructor to the volunteer and militia forces of the Province of New Brunswick, during which period he has discharged the duties of his position faithfully, and in a way alike creditable to himself and beneficial to the local forces of the province.

I have great satisfaction in stating most respectfully, that I consider Color-Sergeant McKenzie's written request well entitled to favorable consideration.

I have the honor to be, sir,

With great respect,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) JOHN V. THURGAR, Colonel,

Commanding St. John City Rifle Battalion.

The Officer commanding H. M. 64th Regiment.

Although I applied for my discharge in 1867, I did not receive it from the regiment until January, 1868. I also received a letter at the same time informing me that my application for the medal with annuity was recommended by the officer commanding my regiment, and that it was forwarded to the authorities at Horse Guards.

On account of the formation of the Dominion of Canada in July, 1867, a new militia act was passed in the 1868

session of Parliament, to take effect in regard to militia corps organizing under that act in October, 1868. Under this act I remained in the militia; for previously I had been promoted to the adjutancy of the 62nd Battalion, a position I could not before fill on account of being in Her Majesty's service.

The militia act did not provide the paying of drill instructors, as the New Brunswick militia law did, consequently I was gazetted drill instructor of the battalion, and received the allowance for such service paid by government to the officer commanding the battalion, which he handed over to me. By this arrangement my pay was less, by fifteen dollars per month, than that I was before receiving from the New Brunswick Government as drill instructor. This amount, including what I was paid as assistant militia storekeeper, was not sufficient to support a family in St. John, and as all my time was taken up with my duties, I could not look for other employment. I put up with this until September, 1869, when Colonel J. V. Thurgar, Sr., told me that his son-in-law, Mr. Christian, was then in St. John to establish a branch of the Bank of Montreal in the city, and asked me if I would assist Mr. Christian. I accepted this offer, and made arrangements with Major Evans, superintendent of the stores, to get another man to do my work in the militia store, to be paid by me.

Mr. Christian and myself carried on the business in the bank, which was in the brick building on Princess street, formerly occupied as a law office by the late Mr. Robinson

and his son, F. P. Robinson, until I was ordered to take charge of the government stores, grounds, etc., at Fredericton, in January, 1870. Often I have been told that it would have been better for me if I had stayed in the Bank of Montreal, which was only just established; for no doubt my salary would be more than I would ever get in the militia. I replied to such people that I came from England by the sanction of Her Majesty, and, as I had all my life served her, I resigned my position in the bank and went to Fredericton. I have ever since seen my mistake; for I have not gained anything by it.

Under the Dominion militia act annual rifle matches are allowed. The first one held by the Dominion was at La Prairie, near Montreal, in 1868. I was selected by the adjutant-general of militia at Ottawa as adjutant for the Maritime team attending that match, of which Lieutenant-Colonel E. B. Beer was commanding officer. There were over one hundred competitors from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick at this meeting; and before leaving for home we were thanked and praised by the minister of militia, Sir George E. Cartier, and the adjutant-general, Colonel McDougall, for our steadiness and good behaviour while in camp.

I may relate a circumstance which occurred at this meeting. When we arrived on the ground the camp quartermaster was issuing out bedding, etc., to the other corps. When I saw this, I at once prepared a formal requisition for the articles required for our contingent, showing each article in detail, signed by myself as adjutant

and quartermaster, and countersigned by Colonel Beer as officer commanding. Before I received any, the camp quartermaster looked up at me, when he read over my requisition, and asked if I was ever in Her Majesty's service. I replied "Yes." He then gave orders to issue the articles to my fatigue men, whom I had waiting, less the tents, which were already pitched; but as I had included the tents he ordered his sergeant to hand them over to me. He immediately sent for the quartermasters of other corps, and ordered them to make out new requisitions in accordance with the one I had given. These quartermasters blamed me for this, as they thought, extra work; and as their commanding officers were in Montreal, they could not complete their requisitions until the following day.

I may further say, that the night before the different corps returned to their homes, a splendid supper was served on the ground to all; and the usual speeches were made by Sir Geo. E. Cartier, the adjutant-general, and many others. Our team arrived home, and all were well pleased with the first rifle match held under the confederation of the provinces into a dominion.

I was again called on by the militia department in 1872 to act as camp quartermaster to the Dominion rifle matches held in Fredericton that year, and received thanks for the manner in which that duty was performed.

I mentioned in a previous page that I was recommended for the medal with annuity on receiving my discharge from Her Majesty's service. This medal with £10 per

annum was granted by Her Majesty, but not handed to me like the one for long service and good conduct was by General Doyle at a parade of all the militia force in St. John during the Fenian scare of 1866. Still a presentation parade was held, but the force present in this case, to witness a far more honorable gift from Her Majesty, to a comrade, were only a few old veterans or pensioners like myself, and the officer who presented it was Captain B. Stratford, staff officer for paying pensioners from Her Majesty's service.

Very few men serving in Her Majesty's forces receive this medal, for the persons entitled to it must be soldiers who never during their term of service of twenty-one years were convicted of any military crime which would cause an entry against them in a company's defaulters' book. Not so to entitle a soldier to receive the medal for long service and good conduct, which is awarded to a soldier if not tried by court martial for the last eighteen years of his service.

On receiving the annuity medal I had to return the medal for long service and good conduct to the secretary of state for war, for no person can hold both these medals.

CHAPTER XVII.

Return to Fredericton.

AS I was still assistant storekeeper, as well as adjutant in the 62nd Battalion, since the regulars had left New Brunswick, I was ordered to Fredericton to take charge of the government buildings and grounds, and the militia stores there. I arrived at Fredericton on 12th January, 1870, and complied with the order. About three months after Colonel Maunsell, D. A. G., asked me to go into his office as clerk; and as I had time I accepted his offer, for there was fifty cents a day extra pay attached to it. This position I retained for more than eleven years.

I will now give an account of the other military duties I was called on to perform during that period.

In the year 1872, in compliance with orders previously issued by the Dominion Government, a Military School of Instruction was opened at Fredericton for six months, from 1st January to 30th June, one drill instructor only being allowed. The pay of the staff was one dollar per day each to the deputy adjutant-general and brigade-major, as commandant of the school and adjutant respectively; and four hundred dollars for the instructor for the term. I was chosen as the drill instructor. As I was at that time drawing over forty-five dollars per month pay from the government, I asked permission to have an assistant, stating that I was willing to pay him, or allow to each one dollar per day. This request was granted.

The cadets who passed, and received certificates that they were qualified to command a company, etc., in ninety days, received fifty dollars.

I took for my assistant the first year Major William Morris, of the 71st Battalion, who filled the position most satisfactorily. The second year, as he had other work to attend to, he could not act; consequently I got Captain W. T. Howe, of the 71st Battalion, who had received a certificate the previous year from the school. This officer understood his work in every branch before the six months expired, and became a very good drill instructor. I also had W. A. Daniel, formerly sergeant in Her Majesty's 22nd Regiment, the fourth year, in place of Captain Howe, who could not attend. These are the three who instructed in the school with me in Fredericton.

While these schools were being held, there were many hundreds of officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the active militia in New Brunswick, who received certificates during the term of either six or three months in each year, from 1872 to 1880.

There were as many as eighty in the school at one time, and they learned everything necessary for a soldier to know as regards drill, etc., and by lectures given either by the commandant, adjutant, or myself daily, their other duties.

In the years 1881 and 1882, as the deputy adjutant-general's head-quarters had been moved to St. John, the School of Instruction was held there; but for only three months in each year. By the new regulations then made

the cadets received only seventy-five cents per day as subsistence for the number of days they attended; but unless they qualified for a certificate they received no allowance. Here I had Sergeant Hunter, of St. John, as instructor.

During this period, from 1870 to January, 1884, I was doing the duty of clerk in the deputy adjutant-general's office; and part of that time, after the brigade-major was removed from New Brunswick, did the duty of that office, without extra pay for the brigade-major's duties.

In 1871 the first brigade camp was held in New Brunswick under the Militia Act of 1868. I was chosen as supply officer to that camp without any assistant; for it was not until the following year that the five sergeants were allowed to assist the staff officers at camps of instruction.

I will now briefly describe my duty in this capacity. Previous to forming the camp, I prepared a list for each quartermaster of the corps in attendance, showing the daily rations, etc., that each man was allowed, numbering from one to fifty-five, the number that each company could bring into camp. A pair of scales were provided for each corps. This was my own idea, for I knew that quartermasters could not determine in a second or so the quantity that each company would have to receive, when a ration of tea is only one-quarter ($\frac{1}{4}$) of an ounce, and of pepper one thirty-six ($\frac{1}{36}$) of an ounce in weight. The orders were that the supply officer was to issue the rations in bulk to the quartermaster for the number of men in his battalion, which he would then issue to each company. This list

came handy to them, so they told me, and in fact they still use it. The staff officers had to make a report as to the working of their duty at camp. I reported it was impossible for a supply officer to be issuing groceries, bread, meat, forage, wood, etc., from different stores or places of issue, to nine or more corps in camp, at the same time; therefore the following year the five sergeants were allowed. The camp this year, 1871, had one thousand four hundred and seventy-two for rations, the largest number that attended any camp in New Brunswick, except the camp held in Sussex in 1881, to which the militia came from Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. This camp was visited by the Marquis of Lorne and Princess Louise, as well as by the minister of militia and general officer commanding, with others of the head-quarters staff. I filled the same position, that of supply officer, in the camps held at St. Andrews, Woodstock, Chatham, Moncton, and Sussex, after the camp ground was purchased by the Dominion Government, excepting the camp held in 1881. On this occasion the late Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. Taylor, who was then deputy adjutant-general of New Brunswick, requested me, as there was camp equipage, etc., coming from Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, to take the camp quartermastership. This was to prevent the camp equipage from getting mixed, or in other words, that the New Brunswick articles should not be sent to Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, or *vice versa*. There was a difference of a few dollars in the pay. Colonel Taylor generously offered to make it good to me, but I declined it.

I may here relate a circumstance that occurred at this camp. The morning that the Marquis and Princess were to arrive I had a fatigue party removing the flag-pole belonging to the 8th Regiment of Cavalry, which was a high one, to where I had previously pitched two marquees for the staff, and the party coming, to lunch in. The guard of honor, consisting of one hundred men of the 78th Highlanders of Nova Scotia Militia, with usual number of officers, and the color, which was loaned by Colonel Marsh, 71st Battalion, was formed up in front of the camp staff tents, with staff officers, Colonel Blair commanding the corps furnishing the guard, and many others. Colonel Taylor called me to prepare the guard for what they would have to do when receiving the Marquis and Princess. In performing this duty I directed the officers to uncase the color. This being done, I detected the color to be the wrong one, for it was the Queen's color. I placed the guard in order, opened ranks, etc. My instructions were, on the word "Present arms," the officer carrying the color to droop it. The first time it was done was not to my satisfaction. I again gave the same instructions. This time both men and officer did well, but I wanted to see the color come down or drooped on the third motion of the rifle, and told the officer so. While this practice was going on I overheard a few words, as if arguing, in my rear, among the staff officers. I tried once more, giving the same instructions regarding the drooping of the color, when Major McDonald, who was the brigade-major at the camp, said to me that the color

should not be drooped. I begged his pardon, and said that *that* color should always be drooped, laying the emphasis on the word "that." He still held to his first opinion, while Colonel Taylor stood by not saying a word. Colonel Blair took the same view with Major McDonald. I repeated my words, as I thought, so that they could see their mistake, not mine; for this time I made a long stop between the words "when" and "that," saying "when that color is at a guard of honor it is always drooped." Still this would not satisfy them. I then asked if any one had a copy of the Queen's Regulations, as I never took one to camp. Captain Joseph Ewing, who was musketry instructor to the camp, answered "yes," and brought one from his tent. I told him to look up section three, and read paragraphs one to nineteen. On doing so, they found that the Queen's color was not to be used except for one of the Royal family. Colonel Macshane, although brigade-major for New Brunswick at that time, acted only as assistant brigade-major; and, as I say above, Major McDonald, whom Colonel Taylor had had as brigade-major at his camps in Ontario, was at this camp in the same capacity. When Captain Ewing read aloud about the color, Colonel Macshane spoke out, "Did not I tell you he was right? What he does not know is very little."

The other camps in New Brunswick for the years mentioned were about the same as described above. This was the first camp in New Brunswick of which Colonel Taylor was commandant. He therefore did not ask me anything

about the guard of honor, and it was by Colonel Macshane's suggestion that I was called to prepare the guard. Just here I may say, that although acting as supply officer at all other camps, I was called on by all ranks in camp to give them some information regarding their duty; in fact it was customary for all to say, "Go to McKenzie, and he will tell you." Of course I did all I could in imparting knowledge to them, and was thousands of times thanked for it. I at all times made it my business at these camps, where the militia attended to learn their duty as soldiers, to impart my knowledge to them, and from the commander down to the bugler was often called on for that purpose. There is not at present an officer in New Brunswick but can say that I am correct in this statement.

I may also say a word about the supply officer's forms, used by that officer at the first camps, as to how they had to be made out. To my mind they were very complicated, unnecessarily so; for on the brigade abstract form in the recapitulation each article had to be shown separately *i. e.*, the weight and price of each ration had to be named. The day's ration for each man was 1½ lbs. bread, 1 lb. meat, 2 ozs. sugar, 2 ozs. cheese, 1 oz. barley, 1 lb. potatoes, ¼ oz. tea, ⅓ oz. coffee, $\frac{1}{36}$ oz. pepper, and ½ oz. salt, with ¼ of a ration of fuel wood. The price of each of these had to be shown, then the number of rations in each battalion, and afterwards the total number in camp. This form was afterwards modified to the present one; and now any school boy can make it out, the number of rations being calculated in bulk as follows: Supposing one thous-

and rations of bread at...c = $..., one thousand rations of groceries at...c = $..., and so on; grand total, $... No doubt but the reader will think a supply officer had enough to look after his accounts at the first camps, without answering all kinds of questions not appertaining to his duty. But, as I said before, I at all times was willing to oblige any militiaman trying to learn the duty of a soldier. The manner in which I performed my duty at these camps was placed by the commandants in their annual reports sent in, and published in the minister of militia's report submitted to Parliament annually. This may be seen by referring to them.

On Colonel Maunsell's leaving for Ottawa, to take charge of the military in that district, he presented me with a silver salver for my assistance to him for over eleven years in his office, with the following inscription on it: "To Captain Thomas McKenzie from G. J. M. for zealous and efficient service, March, 1881." On this matter of presentations, I may further mention that I received many for my service to the cadets who attended military schools; among them silver cake basket, silver water pitcher, and a gold headed cane. These three at the school held in St. John during the years 1881, 1882 and 1883. Four meerschaum pipes were given me at different times; one of these was from the sergeants of our present military school corps at Fredericton. Colonel Maunsell made the presentation, and the other officers of the corps were present. In all these cases I of course thanked the donors with a few remarks.

I have previously described the camps which I attended in New Brunswick, as supply officer, from 1872 to 1883. I will now briefly outline my duty as acting brigade-major at the camps in Nova Scotia in 1882 and 1883, of which the late Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. Taylor, D. A. G., was in command. The first day's orders directed that Brigade-Major Macshane was to attend the 7 a. m. drill daily, and to attend to office work; and Acting Brigade-Major McKenzie to attend guard mounting, and instruct them in their duty, also the picket (a whole battalion); attend the 10 o'clock parades under officers commanding corps, and see that drill was properly carried out, instructing corps if necessary. The afternoon parade the commandant took to himself, but often called on me to instruct a corps. By this I became acquainted with all officers attending these two camps, held at Aldershot and Pictou respectively.

As the reader may wish to have a record of them, I give their names; but may have forgotten some of them. I may first say that I found them to be very willing to learn a soldier's duty, and I think the whole of them before I left had considered me their friend at the camps. The following are their corps and names:

68TH BATTALION.

Lieutenant-Colonel Chipman commanding.

Majors Belcher and Lydiard.

Captains Dodge, Beckwith, Redden, Steadman, Roscoe, Borden, Harris, Ross, and Foster.

Lieutenants Webster, Harris, Northrup, Ross, Kelly, West, Cassidy, Ross, and Coleman (adjutant).

Staff Surgeon Shaw, Assistant Surgeon Borden, and Quartermaster Brechan.

69TH BATTALION.

Lieutenant-Colonel Starratt commanding.

Majors Harris and Cole.

Captains Elliott, Morse, Wade, Charlton, Bailey, Buckler, Turnbull, and Harris.

Lieutenants Graves, Miller, Purdee, Chesley, Marshall, Willett, Whitman, and Cornwell (adjutant).

Staff Paymaster Miller, Surgeon Primrose, and Quartermaster Bishop.

72ND BATTALION.

Lieutenant-Colonel Spurr commanding.

Major Shaffiner.

Captains Jacques, Roach, Bowlby, Taylor, Phinney, and Morse.

Lieutenants Baker, Chipman, Gates, Phinney, and Dodge.

75TH BATTALION.

Lieutenant-Colonel Kaulbach commanding.

Major Griffiths.

Captains King, Hamm, Langille, and Windrew.

Lieutenants Young, Kedy, and Hatchers.

78TH BATTALION.

Lieutenant-Colonel Blair commanding.

Major Sutherland.

Captains Lawrance, Rayne, Barnhill, Smith, McKenzie, and Maxwell.

Lieutenants Hall, Domick, and Sutherland.

Staff Paymaster Chambers, Surgeon McLean, and Quartermaster Johnson.

93RD BATTALION.

Lieutenant-Colonel Harrison commanding.

Major Black.

Captains Black, Harrison, Mills, and Oxley.

Lieutenants Christy, Harrison, Colburn, and Pace.

Staff Paymaster Church and Adjutant Donkin.

94TH BATTALION.

Lieutenant-Colonel Bingham commanding.

Major Hill.

Captains Cain, McRae, J. S. McNeil, D. McRae, and J. D. McNeil.

Lieutenants A. McRae, Foyle, J. D. McRae, H. McNeil, and J. McNeil.

Staff Paymaster Bethune, Surgeon McGillvray, Adjutant Foyle, and Quartermaster McDonald.

KENTVILLE CAVALRY.

Captain Ryan commanding troop.

Lieutenants Masters and Bedden.

During these two camps the brigade staff invited the field and staff officers of each corps to a lunch, and they returned the invitation; consequently all the officers in camp knew the brigade staff, and many a friendly chat took place, for all were like brothers. At the same time

discipline could not be better carried out, and I never heard an ill word spoken at these two camps, all doing their best to help one another.

I suggested to the commandant, Colonel Taylor, that a sham fight be held. He agreed, and asked me to draw up a programme and plan for the movements. I did so, and he thought it a good one for the lay of the country. I then asked him to allow me to assemble the officers to explain it to them. This he also agreed to, and when they met in the staff marquee I explained it fully to them; making the commanding officers of each battalion, and captains of companies, understand each movement. On the day it took place it was pronounced by thousands from Halifax, both militia and civilians, to be very good; and the papers stated the like was never before done at any camp held at Aldershot.

As Colonel Taylor left this parade to me, I will briefly describe the movements of both defence and attacking parties. The idea was that the supposed enemy (attacking party) was to take the camp and cause the defenders to break and run. But as the defenders knew the country and the enemy did not, the camp was to be recaptured by the defenders. The brigade was divided into two equal parts, under command of Colonel Starratt and Colonel Chipman. The former was to defend the camp, the latter to attack it as an enemy. My instructions to both were, that the defending party was to send out pickets, a line of sentries, and on the approach of the enemy they were to be reinforced from the picket and his main body and

compel the enemy to retire with loss, taking care that his flank was not attacked by the enemy; keeping up a continuous fire as the enemy advanced, and to form the most of his force into a skirmishing or fighting line, and not to retire unless compelled. I accompanied the attacking party, who marched out about two miles from camp, and formed for attacking the camp. I then ordered an advance guard out in strong numbers, three companies, and went with them. On coming in sight of the camp I formed them into a line of skirmishers, and on approaching towards the defenders' chain of sentries opened fire on them, being at the same time reinforced from the main body, when the advance was made by rushes of the skirmishing line while the balance of the force moved off to the left and formed for attacking the defenders on their right flank and to capture their camp. The line now formed, as well as the attacking line of skirmishers, kept up a heavy fire, and by that cross fire the defenders were compelled to break; and once the break was made the attacking force did not give time for them to again form, but followed them up and took or captured the camp. The defenders knowing the country, while the enemy (attacking force) did not, they moved by another road, and, reforming, advanced by that road and attacked the enemy on their flank. This was a surprise to them. This advance was followed up until they recaptured their camp with the charge with very little loss.

When the brigade was again formed it was found there was heavy loss on both sides; but it happened to be blank

ammunition, for there was not one round, from the twenty rounds per man issued, could be found among the men to fire a volley, which the brigadier was sorry for.

The spectators had a splendid view from the hill towards Mr. Campbell's house, and could see every movement of both forces.

Many such sham fights were held at the camps of instruction in New Brunswick at which I was present, and which were highly spoken of by the papers at the time.

Colonel Maunsell, who has commanded the militia in New Brunswick since 1865, in his recent lecture to the militia corps of St. John, said that the force in New Brunswick, cavalry, artillery, engineers, and infantry, were second to none in the Dominion, as the returns showed. He pronounced them an excellent class of men. He attributed their efficiency to the work performed by the nine drill instructors sent from England to instruct the volunteers at the time of the Trent affair in 1861. He also said that by the increase of the force two other drill instructors, Sergeant Hughes of the Royal Artillery, and Sergeant Wilson of the 15th Regiment, were taken on the strength. He referred to Sergeant Hewitson, one of the nine, who rose to command the 71st Battalion. I need scarcely say that Colonel Maunsell is a fit person to judge, for it is well known all over the Dominion that his opinion on such matters cannot be questioned. He also in that lecture said, "Mackenzie, one of the nine instructors, is still serving Her Majesty in the force."

Colonel Taylor, who commanded in Nova Scotia, often

in my hearing in his office at St. John, said that the force of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia was as efficient as any he had met in any part of Canada. And I wish here to say, that my opinion is, that both colonels were correct when they said the militia force of both provinces, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, are second to none. The reader may say I am not competent to offer an opinion on the qualifications of the force. Let that be as it may, I wish to record it in this brief story of my life. The Sergeant Wilson above referred to is the same whom I mentioned in a previous page as canteen steward in the military school at Fredericton.

The day after the great fire of June 20th, 1877, at St. John, Major Evans, who was the superintendent of militia stores in St. John, gave up that position. As I was the assistant storekeeper, and in charge of the militia stores, etc., at Fredericton, Colonel Maunsell, who commanded the district, recommended that I be appointed to succeed Major Evans; but his recommendation was not heeded in this case, and another, by wire-pulling, as the saying is, or using politics, got the appointment. I, as assistant storekeeper, did not consider this just to me, especially so as, after establishing the militia store in New Brunswick, I had performed that duty for over three years, from April, 1862, to September, 1865, without help or any expense on the public during that time. A few years after this the offices of district paymaster and storekeeper were made one, and on the retirement of Colonel Baird, although I was once more recommended, wire-

pulling as before was again adopted, and another got the position.

Just here I wish to say, that as I had always attended as a soldier to the Queen's Regulations, and obeyed her orders, which are, that a soldier shall not take any part in elections; and often lectured to that effect to the cadets attending military schools, and to others under my command, I therefore did not try to pull any wires to obtain a position of a military nature, but left it to my superiors, as is done in Her Majesty's service, to appoint in accordance with seniority if the person is competent to fill the office.

CHAPTER XVIII.

In the Permanent Corps.

IN 1883 the government established infantry military schools, three in number, to be formed by January, 1884. At the camp of instruction, held at Sussex in that year, 1883, all the officers in the camp signed a memorial to the Dominion Government recommending me for the adjutancy of the school to be opened at Fredericton. Sir S. L. Tilley, to whom the memorial was sent, replied that I was to receive the appointment. Subsequently he wrote me that he and Colonel Maunsell had talked the matter over, and that my name was registered in the books at Ottawa for the position above named. During the time, however, that both Sir Leonard and Colonel Maunsell were in England, in November, 1883, the commandants and other officers were I suppose chosen; for in December the order was issued to form the three schools in January, and the officers for the same were gazetted on the 21st of that month, but no adjutant among them. I then wrote to the adjutant-general, Colonel Powell, on the matter. He replied that there was no appropriation made for paying an adjutant to the school, but he knew that Colonel Maunsell wished to have me with him in the school at Fredericton; and as all the officers had been appointed I would oblige him if I took the sergeant-majorship until a vacancy should occur. When Colonel Maunsell returned

from England he wrote me, as from the general, and asked me to sink in rank for the time, and accept the sergeant-majorship of the school; stating that it would only be for a short time, or until there was a vacancy for promotion. I complied with this request, but never received the promised promotion.

I was the first man enlisted on 7th January, 1884, in the military school permanent corps at Fredericton, and remained in that capacity until the 22nd July, 1895, eleven years and six months, when I was discharged from the corps, or rather transferred to Sussex to take charge of the government camp ground there. I imagine that the reason I was sent to Sussex was in consideration of my long and continuous service in the militia since 1862. The general officer commanding, as well as the government, put me in an easy position for my previous services tendered to them in many capacities, which the reader by this time knows. This, however, did not long continue. The present representative of that county, Kings, thought some of his political friends better entitled to the position; for in May last, 1897, I was again transferred, with less pay by fifty-five cents per day, back to Fredericton as care-taker of the drill hall and armories of the 71st Battalion. I now receive only one dollar per day, which is less pay than I received since I came to Canada, and less than I was receiving before I left my regiment in England. Still I do not (although the reader may) blame any person, but am thankful for any position of a military nature; for born as I was, in the military, I would like to

end my days serving Her Majesty, no matter in what capacity, for all my life has been spent in her service.

I may here remark that my many friends among the officers of the Maritime Provinces often said to me, that the reason I was not promoted was that "I was of more use to the militia in the capacity I filled in the school." Perhaps they were right. The officers appointed to this company were Major Gordon, and Lieutenants Young and Hemming; the two latter had not previously belonged to the militia force.

I will now give a brief statement regarding this school corps. Previous to the opening, and while I was at Camp Pictou, N. S., I, expecting the adjutancy of the school, had lectured to the men in camp, and explained fully to them all about the school; or, in other words, the duties of men who would join, as well as the pay, etc., they would receive. Consequently, shortly after the 7th January, several men joined; and in a few months nearly the one hundred men required had enlisted, and the work of drilling, etc., had commenced. We had among them a few others who formerly belonged to Her Majesty's service, who gave very good assistance in teaching the men their barrack-room work. From among these men there are at present only two, Color-Sergeant W. A. Daniel and Sergeant J. Wilson, canteen steward, who joined during first month, a few days after the school was formed. There are also among those who joined with me on 7th January, Hospital-Sergeant R. Cochran and Private W. Leek. Others joined at the end of January, one of whom

is A. J. Fowlie, who succeeded me in July, 1895, as sergeant-major of the school. This position he is well qualified to fill, and I believe gives full satisfaction to all concerned. I may mention regarding him, that he attended the old military school in 1881, when I was instructor to that school under the old regulations, and did well there for the certificate he received. Color-Sergeant Daniel formerly was instructor, assisting me in these schools for a few years. These schools were held for three or six months in each year. Quartermaster-Sergeant Walker, who lately was exchanged, was also a non-commissioned officer in the regulars; but Quartermaster-Sergeant Lemontagne, who came in his place, was never in Her Majesty's service. Still he, I find, is very smart, and understands his duty fully; and Color-Sergeant Daniel can look after the company as well as any color-sergeant I ever met in the regulars. There are also two drill instructors, Sergeants W. Duncan and H. T. Brewer, who understand their duty well as such, and often receive credit for it. The former was at one time in Her Majesty's service; but the latter never was. Bandmaster C. J. Hayes, who was transferred to Toronto school corps, was also in Her Majesty's service.

I may also here mention the sergeants and corporals who were in the school when I left in July, 1895, viz.: Sergeant-Bugler G. Offen, who teaches the band in the corps, whose father was formerly band-sergeant in Her Majesty's 22nd Regiment, and Corporal J. M. Torrance, who teaches the buglers attending the school from other

corps. The other non-commissioned officers are Sergeants Nauffts, Bingham, Sheldon, and Paschke, and Corporals Shaw, Hagans, Ross, and Bayers. These perform their various duties satisfactorily, and hold qualifying certificates from the commandant.

Orderly room clerk, Sergeant G. Moore, was lately appointed district clerk, which position he is well qualified to fill, and performs his duty very satisfactorily. The present orderly room clerk, Sergeant T. Burke, who came from the military school, London, Ontario, is the right man in the right place, for he has his duties at his finger ends. The master tailor, Sergeant George Harris, is an excellent workman. He imports from England all materials, cloth, gold lace, and other trimmings required, from which he supplies and makes the uniforms for officers and non-commissioned officers requiring the same, not only in the Fredericton military school, but to others of the militia corps in different parts of the Dominion.

Although not at present belonging to the school corps, I am in a position to see the working of both the non-commissioned officers and privates therein, and I consider that they have kept up their good character as soldiers of Canada, and that they are doing good work in teaching both the officers and men who attend the school from the active militia.

As I had seen many crimes committed in the service through drink, I shortly after the school was formed organized a temperance club in the corps, and had over eighty to join it in less than three months; which the com-

mandant, Colonel Maunsell, considered a good scheme for the prevention of crime. This club was kept up in the corps for a few years. Then we formed ourselves into a division of the Sons of Temperance, under the Grand Division of New Brunswick, with Major Gordon as our first worthy patriarch, and myself as deputy grand worthy patriarch and treasurer of the division. The citizens of Fredericton considered a temperance division among our Canadian soldiers a great benefit. Of course, as the Queen's Regulations allow a canteen for the corps, there were some who violated their pledge; but on the whole the men saved in more ways than one by it, and the good character of the corps maintained. While at camps of instruction with other corps of the district, or in barracks, and when at camps, our men were an example for the other corps to follow, in carrying out discipline and obeying orders as soldiers.

As regards the benefit derived by the country from the Military Schools of Instruction, I can say that I consider the institution to be a good one. During my eleven years and six months as sergeant-major of the school at Fredericton it alone turned out many officers, as well as non-commissioned officers and privates, qualified to take command of a force, either as a defending or attacking body, for the protection of Canada; and who knew, I may say, nothing about such duties before they attended the military school. This I know to be correct, no matter what the opponents of the schools who write in the newspapers to the contrary may assert. At the Fredericton

school alone over sixty such men, averaging about one-half officers, receive qualifying certificates yearly, and I believe that the other military schools turn out about the same number. Hence my reason for saying that I consider the military schools a good institution. The same may be said regarding the Military College, for at present there are many officers serving with Her Majesty's army who attended and learned a soldier's duty in that institution; and some who had qualified there, as Canadians know, died in front of an enemy serving Her Majesty.

During my spare time I instructed the students attending the Normal School, and received many letters from both young men and women who had gone through the course of instruction I gave them, informing me that they carried on the same system in the schools they went to teach. For this service I was presented with a gold headed walking cane accompanied by an address. Mr. E. Mullin is principal of this school, and Messrs. Creed and Brittain are teachers. These gentlemen drilled the same as the students. I also went to the other schools for the same purpose, and sometimes had as many as one hundred and fifty children at drill, which was principally physical drill and extension motions, with a little marching. Many paragraphs appeared in the papers on this matter, such as the following.

To the Editor of the Globe:

SIR—During my visit for a few days in Fredericton, I attended the schools for the purpose of seeing the children perform military drill under Captain McKenzie, and was

highly delighted to see the children to do so well; and when I enquired the object of the drill I was informed that it was for exercise and physical training—and as a medical man I am strongly in favor of it, and would recommend the schools in St. John to adopt it. I believe the captain gives his time gratis, which should be considered valuable. To see him perform the various movements you would take him to be a young man of about twenty, in place of a man who has instructed both officers and men of our militia for over that time. I remember the Grammar School children in St. John were instructed previous to Captain McKenzie's removal to Fredericton, and many parents found their boys the better for it; therefore I hope the School Board will make some arrangement to have the same exercises in the schools here.

I am, respectfully, M. D.

St. John, October 31, 1885.

The captain gives also instruction to the students of the Normal School, and they feel that his exercises are the best they have ever received.

I believe it should be taught in all schools, for it strengthens every muscle of a young person, and causes them to retain an upright position, etc., during life. On this matter I may say that I taught the young men and boys of the Grammar School, at St. John, their first lessons in drill; and from them sprang the Boys' Brigade of New Brunswick. I also gave instructions in the same way to the children of both sexes, in the different schools at St. John, during the years 1881, 1882, and 1883.

I mentioned that I was presented with a gold headed

cane by the students of the Normal School at Fredericton, and herewith annex a paragraph which was published in the daily papers regarding the same.

At the close of the opening exercises at the Normal School yesterday morning Sergeant-Major McKenzie came in, by request of the students, and took his seat on the platform. Two of the young lady students, Miss Blanche Thompson and Miss Blanche Hayes stepped to the front; the former presenting him with a handsome gold headed cane, and the latter read the following address:

To SERGEANT-MAJOR MCKENZIE, Infantry School Corps, Fredericton:

SIR—We, the student teachers in the Provincial Normal School, who have for several months past been under your instruction and training in military drill, desire to express to you now, at the close of the term, our very high appreciation of the valuable services you have voluntarily and gratuitously rendered. Your uniform kindness and patience in dealing with such a body of "raw recruits" as we must have seemed to you, your thorough qualifications for the duties of drill instructor, and the actual benefits which we know we have received from the course of training you have given us, will cause us to remember you always with kindly feelings. As a token of our hearty good will, we beg you to accept the accompanying small gift, which we hope will prove a support and comfort to you when advancing years shall have brought the rest and rewards which the long service you have rendered your country so well deserve.

Signed, on behalf of our fellow students,

BLANCHE HAYES,	CARRIE KELLY,
BESSIE TAYLOR,	A. W. STRONG,
BLANCHE THOMPSON,	M. E. HARRINGTON.

Sergeant-Major McKenzie, in reply, said that it afforded him much pleasure to know that the instructions in physical drill which he had given them were appreciated by them,

and he heartily thanked the students for the beautiful and costly present, and the flattering remarks which they had just bestowed upon him. They all knew how liable students were to become round-shouldered and otherwise physically injured by close sitting at the school desks. He had himself suggested to the chief superintendent of schools the advantages to be derived from such exercises, and the reasons that prompted him to make the suggestion were that he had instructed the students in attendance at some of the public schools in England in the same kind of drill, and that it proved, as he afterwards learned, to be of great advantage to them. He had been for forty-four years in the service of military drill, and had found it one of the best physical exercises that young people could receive; and his remarks to the chief superintendent, when asking permission to instruct the students, were now, he was glad to learn, verified by the students themselves. It was his wish that they would carry on the same kind of physical exercises in the schools under their charge in the different parts of the province, and give to the children the advantages they had received from his important part of their education. At the present time the students in most of the public schools in England are put through physical exercises. It was the very best exercise for straightening the body, expanding the chest, and strengthening the system throughout. With regard to the marching exercises they had received they could, in consequence, hold themselves up better and walk to and fro from their daily labor with ease. He again expressed the hope the students would not forget to train the children in their exercises, and thanked them for their magnificent present and kind address with which they had presented him.

Principal Mullin referred in fitting terms to the valuable services that Sergeant-Major McKenzie had rendered. He said that he had joined the young men while undergoing their drill and found that it had proved of great advantage to him. He was pleased that the students were not forgetful of the gratuitous and valuable services Sergeant-Major McKenzie had rendered, and he wished to join the students in their expressions of appreciation of his efforts.

The chief superintendent made a few complimentary remarks in relation to the work performed by Sergeant-Major McKenzie. He was opposed, he said, to the giving or receiving of presents in connection with the free school system; but he congratulated the students upon the happy thought that prompted them to show in this tangible way their appreciation of the services so freely and cheerfully rendered by Sergeant-Major McKenzie. He hoped that the valuable instructions which they had received from the sergeant-major would not only be profitable to themselves, but through them to those who might hereafter be placed under their charge.

On one side of the cane were engraved the words "Sergeant-Major McKenzie," on the other side, "From Students of the Provincial Normal School, Summer Term, 1885." The cane was purchased at S. F. Shute's, and the engraving was done at his establishment.

On the death of Brigade-Major C. Reade, I made application and was recommended for that position; but the office was discontinued. To show my readers my claims on the department, I publish a paragraph which appeared at the time, with the editor's remarks on the same.

To the Editor of the Globe:

SIR—While in St. John a few days ago I heard a rumor that a brigade-major was to be appointed for District No. 8. May I be permitted to bring Captain McKenzie's services and claims before the public, for it has been acknowledged that he is well qualified and entitled (more so than any other officer in New Brunswick) to fill the position of brigade-major, as he acted and did all duties appertaining to that office from 1881 until the reappointment of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Reade in 1882, and is the only acknowledged officer in New Brunswick who was acting as brigade-major since the formation of the Dominion. It is not necessary for me to state Captain McKenzie's services; still I may say that all the officers in New Brunswick know he performed more than one duty at the brigade camps of instruction held in our province, although only paid for one at each camp, and was always on the staff. Again, any of us officers who required any military information obtained the same from him; and the public already knows his services to the military schools. Therefore, I hope the authorities will see their way clear to give such an officer promotion, which I am sure would be satisfactory to all volunteers in Charlotte County, if not in New Brunswick. MILITIA OFFICER OF MANY YEARS.

St. Andrews, 27th October, 1884.

We publish the communication of "Militia Officer of Many Years Standing," because we believe the writer to be in earnest; but it would be better had he sent his communication to a government organ. The fact of its appearance in the *Globe* will lead the Tories to imagine that Captain McKenzie is not recommended on his merits. However, as the minister of militia is a courteous gentleman, and a fair minded

man, despite his politics, we will send him this, with the assurance that we have no knowledge whatever of the politics of the writer or of Captain McKenzie. But we know the latter to be an earnest, devoted, and capable officer. It was stated some time ago that no successor was needed to Colonel Reade; that the office of brigade-major was a sinecure, but all that will not stand in the way of its being filled up.

During the rebellion in the Northwest, 1885, I was present with the provisional battalion, which was formed of twelve companies with the necessary staff, and I herewith give a list of the officers and companies who were selected in New Brunswick for that duty.

Commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Maunsell.

Majors, Lieutenant-Colonels Blaine and Beer, of 62nd and 74th Battalions.

Paymaster, Major McCulley, 73rd Battalion.

Quartermaster, Major Devlin, 62nd Battalion.

Adjutant, Captain McLean, 62nd Battalion.

Surgeon, Dr. MacFarland, 62nd Battalion.

Chaplain, Rev. G. G. Roberts, M. A., Rector of Fredericton.

Two companies of the Infantry School Corps, commanded by Major Gordon, and Lieutenant Young.

Four companies of 62nd Battalion, commanded by Captains Sturdee, Godard, Hegan, and Edwards.

One company of 67th Battalion, commanded by Captain Bourne.

One company of 71st Battalion, commanded by Captain Howe.

One company of 74th Battalion, commanded by Captain Harper.

This battalion only proceeded as far as Sussex, N. B., and was then ordered back. This, to my mind, was not fair to the militia force of New Brunswick; for a battalion in Halifax, which had to be organized, went to the North-west, and received the medal and other honors for it. I am, and always was since that rebellion, of the opinion that the Infantry School Corps at Fredericton, which is paid and equipped for such purposes by the public, should have been one of the first corps ordered to suppress that rising; and should other corps have been required, they could have followed. Here I may say that both Major Gordon and myself telegraphed, offering our services to the department. I worded my telegram that I was willing to go in any capacity, and received a reply that my offer was noted.

In 1887, the Jubilee year of Her Most Gracious Majesty, I was requested by the officers of the 62nd St. John Battalion to get leave from the military school to teach them how to perform the ceremonial military movement of "trooping the color." I obtained the necessary leave, and went to St. John for that purpose. After the battalion had practiced this movement for a few evenings under my instructions, they were able to troop the color as well as any regiment in Her Majesty's service. "Trooping the color" is considered a very fancy military movement, and this was the first time that it was ever tried by any militia corps in New Brunswick. This, as well as the other movements in drill, both by the artillery and infantry that day, was highly spoken of by the many thousands who

witnessed it. The daily papers also praised the whole force for the manner in which this part of a soldier's duty was performed. Colonel Blaine was in command of the whole as brigadier, and Colonel Tucker as brigade-major. Colonel Armstrong commanded the artillery; the Rifle Company of St. John being attached to the 62nd Battalion. Major A. Markham, of the 8th Cavalry, acted as orderly officer to the brigadier; and I acted as drum-major, which is an important position in trooping the color.

I would like here to say that I have known Lieutenant-Colonel Blaine since he first joined the force in 1863, now over thirty-four years; and have watched his career as a soldier since then. And as I consider him a friend, I am glad to be able to here record that he rose from a private in the ranks, serving in every grade, to the commander of his battalion, which command he held for over sixteen years; and I am sure his whole heart was in the movement. He was my right hand supporter as sergeant-major during the time I was adjutant of the 62nd Battalion.

In 1891 I thought I would make application to the commissioners of Chelsea Hospital for an increase of annuity. The difference in pension between a sergeant-major and sergeant is about three shillings sterling a day. When I came to Canada I was entitled to the pension of a sergeant-major, as I had been filling that office for some time. But I accepted the position of color-sergeant in coming to this country, and when my time for pension came, received only that of a sergeant. Under the circumstances, and considering my long service, I deemed it but

right to apply. Accordingly I wrote to General Sir H. Havelock-Allan, Bt., asking him to support my application. I subjoin his reply, which while it evinced his regard for me, and confirmed my own impressions as to the reasons for my not obtaining the Victoria Cross, at the same time showed me the uselessness of endeavouring to gain any increase in my allowance as a pensioner of Her Majesty's service.

BLACKWELL HALL, DARLINGTON,
November 5th, 1891.

Dear Sergeant McKenzie.

I am very pleased to hear from you. I should be very glad if there were any possibility of my being able to get what you want for you; but I am aware from several similar applications that there is not the smallest chance of the Chelsea commissioners, with whom the matter rests, increasing your annuity. If Colonel Shute had taken pains about the matter at the time you would probably, on Sir James Outram's recommendation, have got the Victoria Cross; but never having been formally recommended for it, there would not be the slightest chance of your claim being recognized now.

On the other hand, as you have served the military authorities of the Dominion of Canada for over thirty years, and have performed practically the duty of a commissioned officer, I do not see how they could refuse to recognize your claim to higher pension.

As I am sure that the accompanying application would not have the smallest chance, I herewith return it to you.

Yours faithfully,

HENRY M. HAVELOCK-ALLAN.

SERGEANT-MAJOR THOS. MACKENZIE,
Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada.

CHAPTER XIX.

Officers with whom I have been Associated in Canada.

AS I have been so long connected with the militia—since 1862—I wish, for future reference, to place on record in this brief story of my life the names of militia officers whom I have met during the performance of my various duties. The record may be of use both to the reader and in future years; if it should be thought otherwise, I may be pardoned for inserting it.

Staff.

Adjutants General, Lieutenant-Colonels J. Robinson, T. M. Crowder, T. Anderson, and George J. Maunsell, present D. O. C.

Brigade Majors, Lieutenant-Colonels A. C. Otty, J. A. Inches, C. McCulley, and J. R. Macshane.

District Paymasters, Lieutenant-Colonel T. W. Baird, and Major A. J. Armstrong.

Superintendents of Stores, Major J. Evans, Lieutenant-Colonels W. Cunard, T. W. Baird, and Major A. J. Armstrong, present one.

R. R. C. Infantry.

Lieutenant-Colonels, W. D. Gordon and L. Buchan.

Majors, D. D. Young and T. D. R. Hemming.

Captains, R. S. Wadmore, J. C. G. Drolet, E. Chinic, J. D. Roche, J. A. Bremner, C. F. O. Fiset, A. E. Car-

penter, A. H. Macdonnell, and P. E. Thacker; also Captain A. B. Nagle, 66th Fusiliers of Halifax, who is now preparing for appointment to the corps.

Surgeons, T. C. Brown, M. D., and R. McLearn, M. D.

8TH REGIMENT CAVALRY.

Lieutenant-Colonels, J. Saunders, J. Domville, M. P., and A. Markham.

Majors, J. Darling and H. M. Campbell.

Adjutants, R. W. Otty and F. V. Wedderburn.

Paymasters, W. C. Drury and J. J. Woodward.

Quartermasters, H. Hallett, J. U. Fowler, and C. F. Harrison.

Surgeons, L. Sharp and J. E. March; Assistant Surgeon, W. J. Norfolk; Veterinary Surgeon, J. H. Frink.

Captains, W. Langstroth, N. H. Upham, T. H. Pearson, J. W. Henderson, W. J. Brittain, F. E. Whelpley, Hon. G. W. Fowler, M. P. P., D. J. Fowler, T. E. A. Pearson, G. S. Maunsell, J. H. McRobbie, J. A. McDougall, A. J. Markham, J. W. Domville, F. B. Black, and D. H. Fairweather.

Lieutenants, H. J. Crawford, C. H. Foshay, E. P. DeBow, J. McKnight, C. W. Smith, T. L. Hay, W. Langstroth, E. L. Wedderburn, D. Sears, J. E. Murray, J. T. Warner, J. E. Fraser, and R. G. E. Leckie.

Second Lieutenants, J. W. Sproul, H. F. Keath, T. Mallory, J. Wood, H. A. Scovil, A. Gillies, J. W. S. Black, R. C. McMonagle, G. W. Gamblin, G. S. Kinnear, C. Skinner, R. A. March, E. K. Parks, R. H. Arnold, W. H. Fairweather, W. J. Brown, and J. Gilchrist.

FIELD ARTILLERY.

Lieutenant-Colonels, R. R. Call and H. J. Dibblee.

Captains, C. H. Emery and R. L. Maltby.

Lieutenants, J. Mitchell, E. C. Tozer, J. White, R. A. Lawler, and J. F. Doherty.

Second Lieutenants, A. A. Davidson, W. C. Good, C. Sergeant, and M. P. Smith.

Surgeons, S. Smith and F. L. Pedolin.

Veterinary Surgeons, J. Morrissy and H. Domville.

GARRISON ARTILLERY.

Lieutenant-Colonels, S. K. Foster, C. J. Melick, J. R. Armstrong, and G. W. Jones.

Major, J. Mount.

Captains, G. H. Pick, M. H. Peters, B. Lester Peters, Hurd Peters, R. Farmer, J. Edgar, J. Bolton, T. F. Gillespie, E. H. Clark, C. McGee, J. Kerr, E. S. Polleys, H. Osburn, H. Whitlock, T. J. Sandford, E. Pheasant, G. B. Seely, E. J. Scammell, S. D. Crawford, J. B. M. Baxter, R. H. Gordon, and T. E. G. Armstrong.

Lieutenants, J. A. Mann, J. A. King, N. T. Greathead, W. P. Dormell, M. Hall, F. J. Letson, W. Vaughan, R. A. Stewart, J. A. Kane, R. R. Ritchie, A. A. Clarke, G. K. McLeod, A. D. Wetmore, J. A. E. Steeves, F. L. Temple, H. C. Tilley, W. E. Foster, and F. C. Jones.

Second Lieutenants, T. Crockell, S. T. Baker, J. F. Gammell, D. Crimmen, J. N. Rose, J. Meating, J. E. Daly, J. E. E. Dickson, C. F. Harrison, F. A. Foster, B. R. Armstrong, G. S. McLeod, E. W. B. Scovil, S. A. M. Skinner, and A. C. H. Grey.

Adjutants, J. D. Underhill, C. F. Langan, and W. W. White.

Surgeons, J. Berryman and J. W. Daniel.

Assistant Surgeon, J. Andrews.

Quartermasters, W. A. Lockhart and J. J. Gordon.

Paymasters, S. K. Foster, Jr., and G. F. Smith.

ENGINEERS.

Lieutenant-Colonel, D. McLeod Vince.

Majors, J. E. Boyd, J. H. Parks, and H. Perley.

Captain, J. R. Tompkins.

Lieutenants, S. L. T. Carvell, A. Nevers, J. B. Stevenson, J. McKean, J. F. Richardson, and M. P. Orser.

RIFLE COMPANY.

Major, J. T. T. Hartt.

Captain, E. A. Smith.

Lieutenants, J. F. McMillan, L. P. Tilley, and H. Perley.

62ND BATTALION.

Lieutenant-Colonels, Hon. J. Robertson, R. W. Crookshank, C. R. Ray, J. R. Macshane, T. Sullivan, A. Blaine, J. J. Tucker, M. P., and H. H. McLean, present commander.

Majors, J. V. Thurgar, E. T. Sturdee, and F. H. Hartt.

Captains, W. H. Scovil, C. E. Godard, M. W. Maher, R. Scott, C. Powers, W. C. Magee, F. B. Hazen, W. Farren, J. P. Hegan, G. F. Thompson, J. F. Fraser, D. Churchill, S. B. Lordly, J. Manning, G. K. Berton, R. Scott, and G. A. Fraser.

Lieutenants, J. Nugent, W. S. Harding, A. W. Lovett,

M. W. Thompson, H. McIntyre, J. P. Vroom, G. M. Cleveland, J. H. Kaye, George A. Hetherington, H. P. Wetmore, J. L. McAvity, Thos. S. Dunning, and C. E. Macmichael.

Second Lieutenants, F. McLaughlan, J. B. Stubbs, W. Frank Hatheway, F. H. Benn, W. C. Sterling, W. Parks, W. R. Mills, J. O. Sharp, W. C. Rankine, A. W. McRae, H. A. McKeown, and F. H. J. Ruel.

Adjutant, Major M. B. Edwards.

Quartermasters, M. McDonough, J. S. Hall (major), and H. H. Godard.

Paymasters, C. Campbell and J. Devlin.

Surgeons, S. Z. Earle and T. Walker.

Assistant Surgeons, T. J. O. Earle, M. F. Bruce, and M. MacLaren.

67TH BATTALION.

Lieutenant-Colonels, C. R. Upton, C. W. Raymond, and J. D. Baird, present commander.

Majors, G. E. Boyer and A. D. Hartley.

Captains, J. F. Adams, J. G. Hoyt, C. Burpee, H. W. Bourne, J. W. Adams, R. Kirkpatrick, L. R. Harding, J. T. Fletcher, A. H. McLaughlan, J. W. Baker, G. D. Perkins, J. W. Williams, J. J. Kupkey, and F. B. Carvell.

Lieutenants, C. White, A. McNinch, J. W. Boyer, W. W. Ross, C. R. Carman, L. Kennedy, C. H. Ferguson, E. W. Bell, H. H. Woodworth, J. F. Williams, D. W. Pickett, C. W. Dickinson, J. E. Sutton, and G. Anderson.

Second Lieutenants, H. McGrath, W. W. Hemphill, F. Brettin, F. W. Bourne, W. J. Carr, H. G. Fletcher,

J. Cyr, H. L. Ross, G. R. Smith, C. H. Taylor, J. Johnson, M. Howlett, W. A. Kaye, J. L. Bull, and A. M. Adams.

Adjutants, R. B. Ketchum and A. J. Raymond.

Quartermaster, H. Emery (major).

Paymaster, J. D. Ketchum.

Surgeons, C. P. Connell and I. B. Curtis.

Assistant Surgeon, E. W. Stevens.

71st Battalion.

Lieutenant-Colonels, J. Hewitson, J. L. Marsh, and T. L. Alexander, its present commander.

Major, W. S. Morris, J. Staples, T. G. Loggie, and H. A. Cropley.

Captains, H. Beckwith, R. Davies, W. Christy, W. T. Howe, W. D. Hartt, J. Boone, J. Christy, J. McMullen, R. Stevenson, J. H. Hawthorne, R. Pinder, J. Burtt, J. S. D. Chipman, J. D. Perkins, J. E. Sanson.

Lieutenants, I. Simmons, W. A. Barker, S. Turnbull, G. A. Hoyt, E. J. Christy, A. Pringle, T. G. Kelly, G. P. Ryder, S. H. McFarlane, and G. P. Christy.

Second Lieutenants, A. G. Blair, Jr., A. Massey, G. A. Murray, G. W. H. Thomas, W. H. Grey, S. E. Oliver, and S. H. Stevenson.

Adjutants, J. V. Johnson and W. S. Fisher.

Quartermasters, T. Hogg and A. Lipsett.

Paymasters, J. W. Smith and A. Beckwith.

Surgeons, T. Gregory, D. R. Moore, and J. W. Bridges.

Assistant Surgeons, T. C. Brown and H. W. Gregory.

73RD BATTALION.

Lieutenant-Colonels, D. Ferguson, and S. U. McCully, present commander.

Major, A. D. Shirreff.

Captains, A. R. Ramsay, J. Black, J. Ullock, J. Willison, J. Sheridan, W. Fenton, A. McKnight, W. McNaughton, H. Cameron, J. D. B. F. Mackenzie, G. W. Mersereau, and H. Phinney.

Lieutenants, J. Gray, A. M. Fraser, D. S. Ullock, G. F. Doherty, P. Loggie, W. McKnight, J. Cameron, and H. Irving.

Second Lieutenants, C. Crammond, J. Patterson, A. M. Rennie, R. McNaughton, M. D. Snowball, F. D. Phinney, F. P. Torsten, A. Cameron, M. A. Kelly, F. H. Mersereau, and D. McNaughton.

Adjutant, A. S. Templeton (major).

Quartermasters, J. Gray and R. Murray, Jr.

Paymaster, Hon. L. J. Tweedie, M. P. P.

Surgeons, W. P. Bishop and J. McG. Baxter.

74TH BATTALION.

Lieutenant-Colonels, E. B. Beer, and J. M. Baird, the present commander.

Majors, O. R. Arnold, B. Harper, and C. H. Fairweather.

Captains, H. D. Wetmore, A. McDonald, W. C. Murray, J. A. Bowes, H. C. Hannington, O. W. Wetmore, A. J. Tingley, and F. Morrison.

Lieutenants, S. A. Watson, C. Spooner, J. R. Foster,

M. Sears, E. H. Hayward, C. W. Weyman, W. D. Forster, F. W. Givan, and J. McIntyre.

Second Lieutenants, J. H. Dunlop, H. G. Wadman, D. R. McElman, J. J. Crosman, E. P. Goodwin, C. Picaird, C. M. L. Flewelling, and C. T. Nevins.

Adjutant, H. S. Langstroth.

Quartermaster, W. C. Murray.

Paymaster, T. E. Arnold.

Surgeon, S. F. Wilson.

Assistant Surgeon, H. S. Trueman.

Some of the cavalry and artillery, and nearly all of the infantry officers named in this list, as well as many others belonging to corps in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, passed through and received certificates of qualification from the schools of military instruction which I was either instructing under the old regulations or of which I was sergeant-major in connection with the present Military School Corps at Fredericton.

CHAPTER XX.

Conclusion.

DEAR reader, before concluding my story, I consider it necessary that I should devote a chapter for your information, whether you follow a civil or military occupation, by comparing the difference between a soldier in Her Majesty's service and one in our Dominion militia permanent force as regards pay, rations, punishments, and comforts.

In Her Majesty's service the pay of a private soldier is one shilling per day, and two pence per day is allowed him as a deferred pay, which he receives as a gratuity on his discharge. After twenty-one years' service he receives a pension, in accordance with the rank then held, from one to five shillings per day. While serving, if a married man, one-half rations is allowed his wife, and one-quarter to each of his children. During the period of his soldiering the parades and other duty during peace time is, I may say, only exercise which keeps him in health. Talking of a soldier's health, this is always looked after. If a man at any time should feel unwell, he can go to the hospital, and the doctor at once attends to him. Should the soldier, by accident or otherwise, happen to injure himself, he is at once brought to the hospital by his comrades in the barrack room. Each morning an orderly non-commissioned officer inquires from the men if any of them are sick; and in

case men should not report themselves sick, there is a weekly medical inspection held by the doctor. For the number of days a soldier is in hospital a portion of his daily pay is deducted for extra hospital diet and medicine.

The punishment a soldier may be awarded is in these days given by the captain of his company, who can now award as high as seven days' confinement to barracks, which carries with it extra drill. In my time of soldiering all men were brought before the colonel commanding the regiment for punishment, but now only for such crimes as drunkenness.

Our permanent militia forces are under the same regulations as govern Her Majesty's forces, as detailed in the Queen's Regulations, Articles of War, etc., to carry out the discipline necessary for soldiers. At any time the militia are called out for drill or training in camps of instruction, or to quell a riot, or any such disturbance of a civil nature, they are subject to the same regulations. Magistrates can call out on requisition such militiamen to prevent disturbance, if they consider it necessary.

There is one very important difference between our permanent force and the regulars. The women and children in Her Majesty's service receive rations, while none are allowed them in the militia permanent force. My opinion on this matter is, that when the Batteries of Artillery were formed they did not include rations for women; and when women were allowed, by some error, rations were not asked for. Since the formation of the infantry permanent force for military school purposes, the general officers have

recommended that the rations be issued, but the government so far have not approved of the same.

Although the women or children do not get rations in the permanent militia force, as they do in Her Majesty's service, the rate of pay allowed to the militia exceeds that paid to Her Majesty's force in all ranks, except in the case of the sergeant-major, whose pay is about the same rate, one dollar and twenty-five cents per day. The other non-commissioned officers and privates receive more. From the forty cents a day paid to a private, should he not drink or smoke, he can save from sixty to eighty dollars per year, and still have sufficient for any extra eatables or inside clothing he may require. All non-commissioned officers and privates are also allowed three dollars per year to keep their underclothing serviceable. Each man below the rank of sergeant receives good conduct pay of two cents per day for his first term of three years service, and each term afterwards it is increased. This amount is not paid until the time of his discharge, when it is given as a gratuity. It can therefore be seen that the men of the permanent force, if not married, can, as I say above, save money. On the other hand, if married, they cannot do so; and if it were not for their wives having the washing to do for the single men, who pay two cents per day from their pay for washing their underclothing, the married men, although receiving quarters, etc., would have all they could do to support a family on the forty cents per day. The married men, however, are generally employed to do the extra work for pay, and servants to the officers, which brings in something per month.

As regards the discipline, the general officer commanding the militia is responsible for the whole force to the government. Consequently he holds all ranks under him, from the adjutant-general to the lance-corporal of a corps, responsible for the orders issued and other regulations published for their guidance, as is done in Her Majesty's service. There is also a quartermaster-general, who looks after all buildings, clothing, etc., and the financial business of the whole militia is done from the department at Ottawa through the various paymasters or officers commanding permanent corps.

I consider that the permanent military schools are excellent institutions, and do a good service to the country, in teaching officers and others a soldier's duty, as well as being the only available force ready to turn out, if required, without a moment's delay. And as they are the only force kept up by the public as an army, I should be sorry to hear of a reduction in their numbers; but would be pleased on the contrary to see our Dominion financially strong enough to admit of a large increase.

I may further mention here that there is a great difference between civil and military law. The readers of this account of my life may not know, that if either a civil or military man holds any article of government property, he is liable to a fine or imprisonment if he refuses to give the same when called upon to do so, in accordance with the Dominion Militia Law; and militiamen are subject to a like fine or imprisonment should they refuse to turn out when ordered, for drill or otherwise, by proper authority.

The term of a militiaman's service is three years; and he must receive his discharge from the captain of his company to clear him; otherwise he is considered a member of the company or corps he joins, and is still liable for service.

Before parting with you, my dear reader, permit me to say that I hope that this story of my life has somewhat interested you, and that the facts which I have thus succinctly stated may be of use to you as a future record, and that we part in friendship. No doubt you will say that the story is shortly told. If this be in your mind, please remember that I have not shown anything but what I actually took part in; and as I have included a list of officers with whom I was more or less connected, it may be valued as a remembrance by them, or their friends, when we are of the past.

I am glad to find, that since I came to this country in 1862, very important measures have been adopted for the better protection of the Dominion, as well as for a closer connection with our mother land, which protects and watches over Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria. God bless her! I saw her at her marriage, and have served her, as the reader knows, during my whole life, and am ready, if called upon, to serve her still.

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B
M

McKenzie, Thomas
My life as a soldier.

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